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J. Gravelot inv. sculp.

*The AMBASSADORS of ANTIOCHUS
sent to SCIPIO AFRICANUS with his
SON, without Ransom.*

Published Sept. 29. 1742. by J. & P. Knapton.

T H E
ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE
FOUNDATION of ROME

TO THE
BATTLE of ACTIUM:

THAT IS,
To the END of the COMMONWEALTH.

By Mr. R O L L I N,

*Late Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence in the
Royal College, and Fellow of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and
Belles-Lettres.*

Translated from the FRENCH.

V O L. V.

THE THIRD EDITION.
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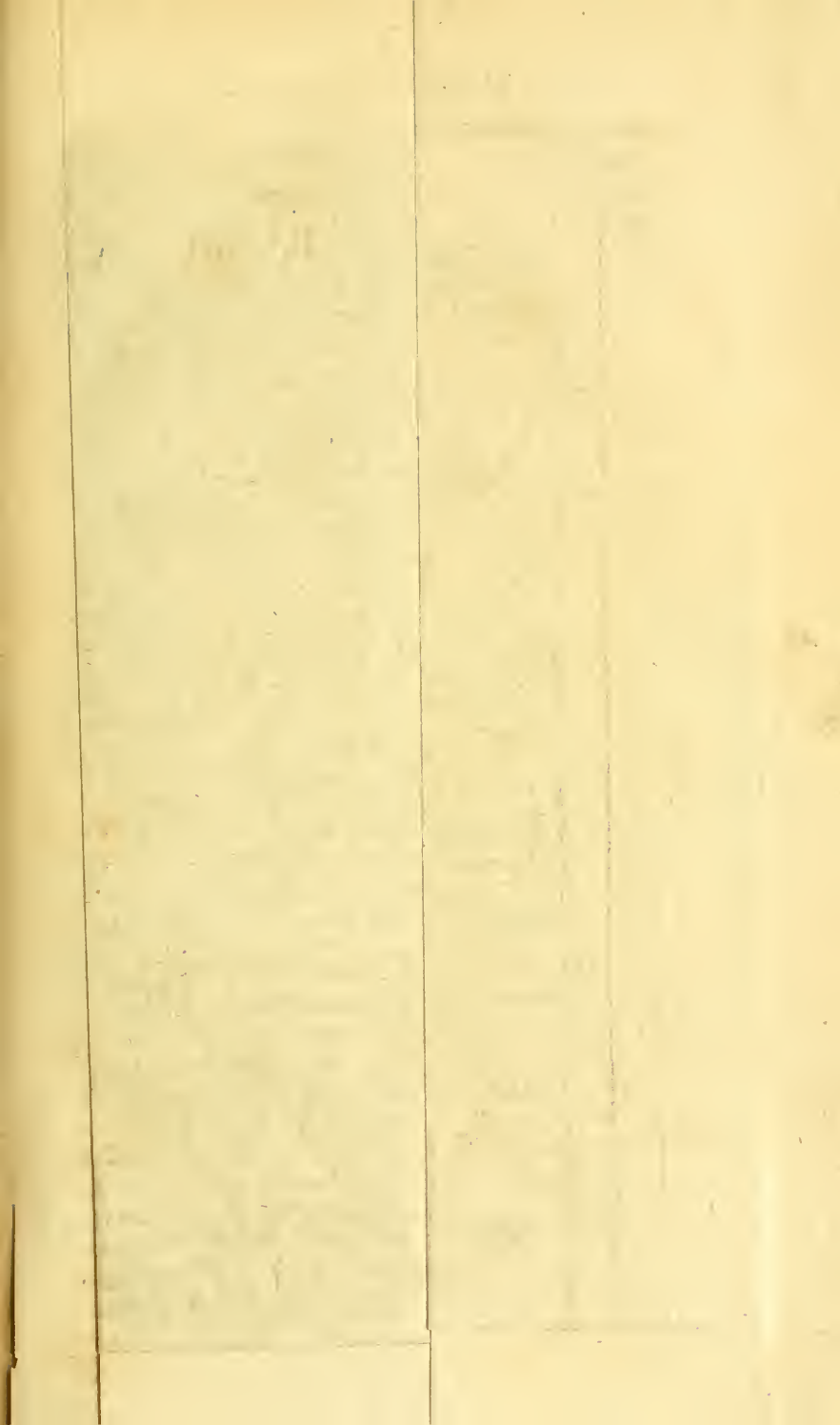
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T H E





THE
ROMAN HISTORY,
FROM THE
FOUNDATION of ROME
TO THE
BATTLE of ACTIUM.

BOOK THE TWENTY-SECOND.

THIS book contains about the space of six years, from the 555th to the 561st of Rome. It principally treats of the war with Nabis tyrant of Sparta, the care of Quintius in regulating the affairs of Greece, the war with the Gauls, the military exploits of Cato in Spain, the dispute excited at Rome upon the occasion of the law Oppia, and the preparations and beginnings of the war with Antiochus.

S E C T. I.

Upon the report which the commissioners returned from Greece make in the Senate concerning Nabis, Quintius is left at liberty to act as he should judge expedient. The War with Nabis is resolved in the assembly of the allies summoned to Corinth by Quintius. He approaches Sparta in order to form the siege of it. Taking of Gythium by Quintius's brother. Quintius brings over the allies into his opinion, which was to grant Nabis peace. Conditions proposed to that tyrant. An interview proving ineffectual, Quintius presses the siege of Sparta with vigour. Nabis submits. Peace is granted him. Argos recovers its liberty. Quintius presides there at the Nemean games. Discontent of the allies concerning the treaty concluded with the tyrant. Quintius, during the winter, regulates the affairs of Greece. Fine speech of Quintius in the assembly of the allies at Corinth. The Roman slaves dispersed throughout Greece are restored to Quintius. He makes the Roman garrisons evacuate the citadel of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias. He regulates the affairs of Thessaly. Quintius returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph. AFFAIRS OF GAUL. Good success of the two Consuls. A triumph is granted to one of them, and refused to the other. New defeats of the Gauls. New war with that People. The Consul Minucius delivered from extreme danger by the bravery of the Numidians. Furious animosity of the Ligurians. Victory and triumph of the Consul Nasica over the Boii. AFFAIRS OF SPAIN. Blow given the Romans in Hispania Citerior. Cato sets out for Spain. Description of Emperia. Cato's stratagem. He gains a victory over the Spaniards. He disarms all the States on this side of the Iberus, and demolishes all the walls of the cities. Praise of Cato. He goes to Turdetania to the aid of the Prætor. Cato's triumph.

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

M. PORCIUS CATO.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

THE war with Nabis may be considered as a sequel of that with Philip, which had just before been terminated. I place it here, to avoid breaking in upon what relates to Quintius. Liv. xxxiii. 44, 45.

The ten commissioners, who had been sent into Greece, being returned to Rome, gave an account to the Senate of what concerned the peace concluded with Philip. After which they informed the Senate, "that they were upon the point of having another no less important war to sustain against Antiochus King of Syria; and that the Ætolians, a restless people, full of ill-will to the Romans, were inclined to take arms against them, and to join Antiochus." I shall defer speaking of the circumstances that induced this war, for the sake of throwing all the events that relate to it together, and shewing them in one point of view. The commissioners added, "That Greece nurtured a dangerous enemy in her own bosom in the person of Nabis, then tyrant of Sparta; and who would soon become so of all Greece, if he could; a tyrant, infamous for his avarice and cruelty, and who equalled all that antient times had ever seen of most horrid in that kind." After having long discussed, whether there was sufficient foundation for immediately declaring war against him, or whether they should content themselves to leave Quintius at liberty to act, in that respect, as he should judge most expedient for the good of the Commonwealth; the latter was resolved, and the whole was referred to his discretion.

All the people of Greece enjoyed in perfect tranquillity the blessings of peace and liberty, and in that state no less admired the temperance, justice, and moderation of the Roman victor, than they had before admired his valour and intrepidity in war. Liv. xxxiv. 22 —24.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

were in this situation, when Quintius received the decree from Rome, by which he was permitted to declare war against Nabis. Upon this, he called an assembly of the allies at Corinth, and after having explained to them the matter in question; “ You see, “ (said he) that the business of the present deliberation regards only you. The question is to resolve “ whether Argos, a city equally antient and illustrious, shall enjoy its liberty like the other cities, or “ whether we shall leave it in the hands of the tyrant of Sparta, who has possessed himself of it. The “ Romans have no interest in this affair, except that “ the slavery of a single city might deprive them “ of the glory of having entirely delivered Greece “ from bondage. You have therefore to deliberate “ upon what is to be done: and your resolutions shall “ determine my conduct.”

The opinions of the assembly were not dubious. The Ætolians only could not forbear venting their discontent against the Romans, and went so far as to tax them with breach of faith, because they retained Chalcis and Demetrias, at the very time they boasted of having given liberty to all Greece. They were no less warm against all the rest of the allies, especially the Athenians, whom they reproached with having become, from the zealous defenders of liberty which they antiently were, the abject flatterers of the Roman power. The allies, exasperated at such discourse, demanded that they might also be delivered from the robberies of the Ætolians, who were Greeks only by the language, but true Barbarians by their manners and disposition. As the dispute grew warm, Quintius obliged them to confine themselves solely to the affair proposed; and it was unanimously resolved, that war should be declared against Nabis tyrant of Sparta, if he refused to restore Argos to its antient liberty; and each promised to send speedy aids; which was faithfully executed.

Aristenes, General of the Achæans, joined Quintus near * Clæonæ, with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse. Philip, on his side, sent fifteen hundred foot, and the Theſſalonians four hundred horse. Quintus's brother arrived also with a fleet of forty galleys, which were joined by those of the Rhodians and King Eumenes. A great number of Lacedæmonian exiles repaired to the camp of the Romans, in hopes of recovering their country. They had Agesipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta appertained by right. Whilst he was an infant he had been expelled by the tyrant Lycurgus after the death of Cleomenes.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

Their first design was to open the campaign by the siege of Argos : but Quintus thought it more expedient to march directly against the tyrant. The latter had taken care to fortify Sparta well, having surrounded it with a fossé, pallisade, and rampart ; and he had caused a thousand chosen troops to be brought from Crete, which he added to a thousand more before in his service. He had besides these three thousand strangers in his pay, and ten thousand troops of the country, without including the Helots.

Liv.
xxxiv. 26
—29.

Nabis at the same time took measures to secure himself against intestine commotions. Having caused the People to assemble without arms, and having posted his armed guards around the place, he declared, “ that the present conjuncture obliging him to use extraordinary precautions for his own safety, he was going to seize and confine a certain number of citizens. That he chose rather to prevent those, whom he suspected, from betraying him, than to punish their treason. That when he should have repulsed the enemy without, from whom he had not much to fear, if things were quiet within, he would release those prisoners.” He nominated about fourscore of the principal youth of Sparta, confined them in a secure place, and the next night caused them all to be but-

* A city of Argolis in Peloponnesus.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

chered. He also caused abundance of the Helots to be put to death in the villages, who were suspected of inclining to go over to the enemy. Having thus spread terror on all sides, he prepared for a vigorous defence, being fully determined not to quit the city in the present emotion it was in, and not to hazard a battle with troops much superior to his in number.

Quintius having advanced as far as the Eurotas, which runs almost under the walls of the city, whilst he was intrenching his camp, Nabis detached his foreign troops against him. As the Romans did not expect this sally, hitherto not having been opposed in their march, they were at first put into some disorder: but, sustained by the aid that arrived immediately, they soon reinstated themselves, and repulsed the enemy quite into the city.

The next day, Quintius having marched his troops in order of battle along the river and city, when the rear-guard had passed, Nabis made his foreign troops charge it. The Romans then faced about, and the action became very rude on both sides: but at length the foreigners were broke, and put to flight. The Achæans, who knew the country, pursued them vigorously, and made a great slaughter. Quintius incamped near Ainyclæ, and after having ravaged all the fine country around the city, he returned to incamp on the banks of the Eurotas, and from thence ruined the valleys at the bottom of Mount Taggetus, and the country near the sea.

Liv.
xxxiv. 20.

At the same time, the Proconsul's brother, who commanded the Roman fleet, formed the siege of * Gythium, at that time a very strong and important place. The fleets of Eumenes and the Rhodians arrived very happily; for the besieged defended themselves with great bravery. The Proconsul also marched thither at the head of four thousand men. At length, after a long and vigorous resistance, the place surrendered.

* This city was the port of the Lacedæmonians.

The taking of Gythium alarmed the tyrant. He sent an herald to Quintius to demand an interview, which was granted. “ Besides many other reasons, which Nabis urged in his favour, he insisted strongly upon the almost recent alliance, which the Romans, and Quintius himself, had made with him in the war against Philip: an alliance, upon which he relied the more, as the Romans declared themselves faithful and religious observers of treaties, which, they boasted, they never infringed. That on his side, there had nothing been changed since the treaty: that he was the same he had always been before, and that he had given the Romans no cause of complaint and reproach.” This reasoning was conclusive; and to speak truth, Quintius had nothing solid to object to it. Accordingly, in his answer, he only expatiated in loose indefinite complaints, and reproached him with his avarice, cruelty, and tyranny. But was he less avaricious, cruel, and tyrannical, at the time of making the treaty? Nothing was concluded in this first interview.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.
Liv.
xxxiv. 30
—32.

The next day Nabis agreed to evacuate the city of Argos, as the Romans insisted upon it; and also to deliver up the prisoners and deserters to them. He desired Quintius, if he had any other demands to make, that he would reduce them to writing, in order that he might deliberate upon them with his friends. Quintius having agreed to that, held a council with the allies. “ Most of them were for continuing the war with Nabis, which could not be gloriously terminated, without extirpating the tyrant, or at least the tyranny: that otherwise it could not be said, that liberty had been restored to Greece. That the Romans could make no agreement with Nabis, without solemnly acknowledging him, and authorizing his usurpation.” Quintius was inclined to peace. “ He apprehended, that the war with Sparta might be spun out in length. That during that time the war with Antiochus might break out on a sudden, in which case, the whole forces both of the Romans and allies

Ibid. 33,
34.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

would be necessary for opposing so powerful an enemy." These were the reasons he alledged to determine them to an accommodation. Perhaps private motives united with those of the public. He apprehended, that a new Consul might have Greece for his province, and come to deprive him of the glory of terminating an enterprize, he had so far advanced, by a compleat victory.

Seeing that his reasons made little impression upon the allies, he seemed to give into their opinion, and thereby brought them all over to his own. "Well then, said he, let us besiege Sparta, as you judge it proper, and let us spare nothing that may conduce to the success of our enterprize. As you know, that sieges frequently take up more time than one would desire, let us make dispositions for taking up our winter-quarters, if it be necessary: this resolution is worthy your valour. I have a sufficient number of troops for the success of the siege: but the greater their number, the more occasion we shall have for provisions and convoys. The winter, which approaches, shews us nothing but a naked country, and leaves us without forage. You see of what extent the city is, and consequently how many rams, catapultæ, and other machines of all kinds will be wanting. Let each write to his city, in order that they may supply us abundantly, and soon with all that is necessary. It is for our honour to push the siege vigorously, and it will be shameful, after having undertaken, to be obliged to quit it." Each then reflecting upon the proposal made to them, discerned abundance of difficulties, which they had not foreseen, and perceived how ill the proposal they were going to make to their cities would be received, when private persons should see themselves obliged to contribute to the expences of the war. Accordingly, immediately changing opinion, they left it to the Roman General to act as he should think most for the good of his own Commonwealth, and that of the allies.

Quintius then having held a council, to which he called only the principal officers of the army, settled with him the conditions of peace, that might be offered the tyrant. The principal were: "That in less than ten days he should evacuate Argos, and all the other cities in Argolis, where he had garrisons. That he should restore to the maritime cities all the galleys he had taken from them, and should retain only two barks of sixteen oars for himself. That he should restore to the cities in alliance with the Roman People all their prisoners, deserters, and slaves. That he should also restore to the banished Lacedæmonians their wives and children, who should be willing to follow them, however, without compelling them to do so. That he should give five hostages, such as the Roman General should chuse, of which number his son should be one. That he should actually pay an hundred talents, (an hundred thousand crowns) and afterwards fifty annually during eight years. That a truce of six months should be granted him, that each side might send to Rome, and the treaty be ratified there."

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.
Liv.
xxxiv. 35.

None of these articles pleased the tyrant, but he was surprized, and thought himself fortunate, that they had not mentioned the return of the exiles. This treaty, when the particulars of it were made known in the city, occasioned universal disgust. Those who had married the wives of the exiles, slaves made free by the tyrant, and the soldiers themselves loudly murmured against them. Accordingly peace was no longer talked of, and the war was begun again.

Quintius then intended to push the siege vigorously, and began by examining the situation and condition of the city. Sparta had long been without walls, and would have no other fortification but the valour of her citizens. * It was only since tyrants had ruled there,

* It was a little more than an hundred years since Sparta had been fortified with walls, first when Cassander, one of Alexander's successors attacked several cities of Greece: and afterwards when it was attacked by Demetrius, and then by Pyrrhus. And lastly, Nabis had added new fortifications to it. JUSTIN. PAUSAN.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

that walls had been built; and that only in places which were open and of easy access: all the rest was defended by its natural situation, and by bodies of troops posted there. As Quintius's army was very numerous (it amounted to above fifty thousand men, because he had drawn together all the troops both of sea and land) he resolved to extend his forces around the city, and to attack it at the same time on all sides, in order to spread terror, and to make the besieged incapable of looking about them. Accordingly, the attack being made the same instant on all sides, and the danger being the same every where, the tyrant neither knew what choice to make, what orders to give, nor whether to send succours, and was quite out of his wits.

The Lacedæmonians sustained the attack of the besiegers, who had entered the city, for some time as long as they fought in defiles and narrow ways. Their darts and javelins however had little effect, because being in very close order, they had not room to discharge them with vigour. The Romans continually gaining ground, on a sudden found themselves overwhelmed with stones and tiles, discharged upon them from the tops of the houses. But having placed their bucklers upon their heads they advanced in that manner, called the Tortoise, and neither darts nor tiles could hurt them in the least. When they arrived in the broader streets, the Lacedæmonians not being able to sustain their charge, nor stand before them, fled, and retired to the highest and steepest places. Nabis, believing the city taken, sought in great perplexity how, and on what side, he might escape. Pythagoras, one of the principal officers of his army, saved the city. He caused the buildings nearest the walls to be set on fire. The houses were presently in a blaze: the flames gained ground every moment, and the smoke alone was capable of stopping the enemy, by blinding and rendering them incapable of acting. The Romans were overwhelmed, not only with a shower of tiles and stones, but with the fall of burning

ing planks and beams, which separated every moment. For which reason those who were still without the city, and were preparing to enter it, removed immediately from the walls; and those who had entered first, apprehending, lest the flames they saw behind them should close up all ways out, retired as soon as possible. Quintius in this unexpected disorder, caused the retreat to be sounded; and after having seen himself in a manner master of the place, was reduced to lead back his troops into the camp.

The three following days, he took advantage of the terror he had spread throughout the city, sometimes by making new attacks, and sometimes by closing up different places, to deprive the besieged of all issues and hopes of escaping. Nabis seeing himself without resource, sent Pythagoras to Quintius, to treat of an accommodation. The Proconsul at first refused to hear him, and ordered him to quit the camp. But the suppliant falling upon his knees, and referring the fate of Nabis to the discretion of the Romans, at length obtained a truce for his master upon the same terms, as had been before prescribed him. The money was paid down directly, and the hostages put into Quintius's hands.

During all these movements, the Argives, who upon the advices they had received from time to time, already concluded that Sparta was taken, re-established their liberty themselves, and drove out their garrison. Quintius, after having granted Nabis peace, and taken leave of Eumenes, the Rhodians and his brother, who returned to their fleets, repaired to Argos, which he found in incredible transports of joy. The celebration of the Nemæan games, which could not be performed at the customary time on account of the troubles occasioned by the war, had been deferred till the arrival of the Roman General and his army. It was he, as we have related above, who did the honours, and distributed the prizes of them; or rather was himself the shew. The Argives particularly could not take their eyes off him, who had undertaken this war

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

Liv.
xxxiv. 40.

Ibid.

A.R. 557. war expressly for them, who had delivered them from
 Ant. C. a cruel and shameful slavery, and just before reinstat-
 195. ed them in their antient liberty, the sweets of which
 they tasted with a more lively sense, as they had long
 been deprived of it.

Liv. The Achæans saw with sensible pleasure the city of
 xxxiv. 40. Argos reunited with their league, and restored to all
 its antient privileges. But a tyrant supported in the
 middle of Greece, and slavery, though in a manner
 retrenched in Lacedæmon, from whence it was always
 in a condition to make itself feared, left a disquiet in
 the minds of men that abated the common joy.

As to the Ætolians, it may be said, that the peace
 granted Nabis was their triumph. From that shame-
 ful treaty, for so they called it, they exclaimed against
 the Romans every where. They observed, that in the
 war with Philip, they had not laid down their arms,
 nor desisted from pursuing that prince with the utmost
 vigour, till they had obliged him to abandon all the
 cities of Greece. That upon this occasion the tyrant
 was suffered to retain the peaceable possession of Spar-
 ta, whilst the lawful King (they meant Agesipolis)
 who had served under the Proconsul, and so many
 illustrious citizens of Sparta, were condemned to pass
 the rest of their lives in miserable banishment. In a
 word, that the Roman People had made themselves
 the guards and protectors of the tyrant.

The Ætolians in these complaints, which were not
 without foundation, confined themselves to the advan-
 tages of liberty only : but in great affairs, every thing
 is to be considered, and persons must be contented
 with what can be executed with success, without tak-
 ing in all things at once. And this was Quintius's
 disposition, as we shall see from his own conduct in
 the sequel.

Ibid. 48. Quintius returned from Argos to Elatea, from
 Plut. in whence he had set out for this war with Sparta. We
 Quint. have related before, at the end of the preceding vo-
 375. lume, that he passed the whole winter in rendering jus-
 tice to the States, in reconciling the cities to each
 other,

other, in appeasing enmity between principal citizens, and in re-establishing good order every where, which were the true fruits of peace, the most glorious of employments for the victor, and a certain proof, that the war had been undertaken only from just and reasonable motives.

In the beginning of the spring, Quintius repaired to Corinth, where he had called a general assembly of all the cities. He represented in it, that Rome had complied with joy and passion with the intreaties of Greece, which had implored her aid, and had made an alliance with her, of which he hoped there was no reason to repent. He ran over in few words the actions and enterprizes of the Roman Generals, who had preceded him, and repeated his own with a modesty, that much exalted their merit. He was heard with general applause, except when he came to speak of Nabis, on which the assembly, by a gentle murmur, expressed their surprize and grief, that the deliverer of Greece had left in the bosom of so illustrious a city as Sparta a tyrant, not only insupportable to his country, but formidable to all the other cities and states.

Quintius, who was not ignorant of the people's disposition in regard to him upon that head, thought it incumbent upon him to give an account of his conduct in few words. "He owned that no conditions were to be hearkened to with the tyrant, if that could have been done without hazarding the entire ruin of Sparta. But, there being room to fear, that the ruin of Nabis might be attended with that of so considerable a city, it had seemed more prudent to leave the tyrant weakened, and not in a condition to hurt, than to hazard perhaps seeing the city destroyed by too violent remedies, and the very endeavours employed to save it.

"He added to what he had said of the past, that he was preparing to set out for Italy, and to carry back the whole army. That in less than ten days they would hear, that the garrisons of Demetrias and Chalcis were withdrawn; and that he was going before their eyes to give up the citadel of Corinth to the Achæans.

That

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

Liv. ibid.
48—50.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

That they would thereby see which were most worthy of faith, the Romans or the Ætolians; and whether the latter had reason for spreading abroad, that the Græeks could not do worse than to confide their liberty to the Roman People, and that they had only changed the yoke by receiving the Romans for masters, instead of the Macedonians. But that it was well known, the Ætolians did not pique themselves upon prudence or discretion either in their actions or discourse.

“ That as to what regarded the other states, he recommended it to them to judge of their friends by actions, and not words; and to distinguish aright between those they ought to trust, and those against whom they ought to be upon their guard. He exhorted them to make a moderate use of their liberty; in representing to them, That kept within due bounds, it was salutary to private persons as well as cities: that without such moderation, it became injurious to others, and pernicious to those who abused it. That the principal persons of the cities, the different orders of which they are composed, and the cities themselves in general, should make it their care to preserve a perfect union between them. That as long as they should continue united, neither King nor tyrant could do any thing against them. That discord and sedition would open a way for all kinds of danger and calamity, because the party which should find itself weakest within, would seek support without, and chuse rather to call in strangers to their aid, than to give way to their fellow-citizens.

“ He concluded his discourse, by conjuring them with goodness and tenderness to maintain and preserve by their wise conduct the liberty, for which they were indebted to foreign arms; and to convince the Roman People, that in making them free, they had not placed their protection and services amiss.”

This advice was received as that of a father. On hearing him speak in this manner, they all wept with joy, and Quintius himself could not refrain from tears. A gentle murmur expressed the sentiments of
the

the whole assembly. They looked upon one another, full of admiration of what they had just heard, and exhorted each other to retain deep in their memories and hearts counsels, which they ought to revere as oracles.

Quintius then having caused silence to be made, desired them to make an exact enquiry after such Roman citizens as might remain slaves in Greece, and to send them to him in Thessaly in the space of two months. He represented to them, that it would be very unbecoming in them to leave those in slavery, to whom they were indebted for their liberty. The whole assembly cried out with applause, and thanked Quintius for having been pleased to apprize them of so just and indispensable a duty. The number of these slaves was very great. They had been taken by Hannibal in the Punic war, and as the Romans would not ransom them, they had been sold. It cost Achaia only an hundred talents, that is, an hundred thousand crowns, to reimburse masters for the prices of slaves, for each of which were paid five hundred Denarii, that is, about twelve pounds ten shillings. The number in consequence amounted to twelve hundred. The number of the rest may be judged in proportion.

The assembly was not broke up, when the garrison was seen coming down from the citadel, and then marching out of the city. Quintius followed it immediately, and retired amidst the universal acclamations of the Greeks, who called him their preserver and deliverer, and made a thousand prayers and vows to heaven for his happiness.

He also drew off the garrisons from Chalcis and Demetrias, and was received at both places with the same applauses. From thence he went to Thessaly, with design, not only to reinstate the liberty of the cities of that country, but to re-establish a supportable form of government, after the confusion and disorder that had so long prevailed in them. For it was not only the misfortunes of the times, and the tyranny of Kings, which had occasioned those troubles

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

Liv.
48—50.

Ibid.

Ibid.

A. R. 557. bles amongst them ; but their naturally turbulent and
 Ant. C. restless disposition ; there having never been amongst
 195. them, from their origin to the times of which we are
 speaking, and even to that when Livy wrote, any
 particular Assembly in each city, or States-general of
 the whole nation, that had not been embroiled by the
 tumults of parties and seditions. He made the estates
 of particulars his principal rule in the choice of judges,
 and in forming a Senate : convinced, that one of the
 most efficacious methods for reinstating good order
 amongst that people, was to deposite authority and
 power in the hands of those, who, by their circum-
 stances and fortunes, had the most interest in main-
 taining the peace and tranquillity of the nation.

Liv. xxxiv.
 35.

Nabis did not long enjoy the peace, which had
 been granted him. Some years after, having broke
 the treaty he had made with the Romans, the Achæ-
 ans, to whom Flaminius on his setting out for Rome,
 had recommended to keep a watchful eye over that
 tyrant, attacked him under the command of Philo-
 pæmen, and after having defeated him in a battle,
 obliged him to shut himself up in his city. Some
 time after, Alexamenes, under pretence of bringing
 him an aid of Ætolians, killed him treacherously.
 Philopæmen repairing thither immediately after, ob-
 liged Sparta to enter into the Achæan league. We
 shall treat these facts in the sequel with something
 greater extent.

Ibid. 52.

Quintius having settled the affairs of Thessalia,
 crossed Epirus to Oricum, embarked for Italy, and
 arrived at Rome, whither all his troops repaired also.
 The Senate gave him audience without the city, ac-
 cording to custom ; and after he had given an exact
 account of all he had done, the Senators with una-
 nymous consent, decreed him the honour of a tri-
 umph, which he had so well deserved. The cere-
 mony continued three days ; during which the preci-
 ous spoils he had taken in the war with the King of
 Macedonia were exhibited to view. Demetrius son of
 Philip, and Armenes son of Nabis, were amongst the
 hostages,

hostages, and served to adorn the victor's triumph. But its greatest ornament were the Roman citizens delivered from slavery, who followed the chariot with their heads shaved in token of the liberty they had lately regained. He caused twenty-five Denarii to be distributed to each of his soldiers (about twelve shillings and sixpence) twice as much to the centurions, and thrice to the horse.

I have already said, that I should take the liberty either of deferring or anticipating certain facts, without confining myself to relate year by year what passed, in order to avoid interrupting the thread of our history too much, and to shew various events under the same point of view. The dates, which are always in the margin, make it easy to bring the things that happened at the same time into the order in which they passed. I return therefore from whence I digressed.

C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

A. R. 555.
Ant. C.
197.

These two Consuls had Gaul for their province. After having discharged the usual duties of religion, they both set out for their command. Cornelius marched directly against the Insubrians, who were actually under arms with the Cænomani their allies. Brixia was the capital of the latter, and Milan of the Insubrians. Q. Minucius inclining to the left, marched towards the sea, and advancing on the side of Genoa, first attacked the Ligurians. He succeeded entirely, and reduced all the States on this side of the Po, except the Boii, and Iluates; the first of whom were Gauls, and the other Ligurians. Fifteen towns are said to have surrendered to him, with twenty thousand of their inhabitants. From thence the Consul marched his legions into the territory of the * Boii.

Not long before his arrival, the Boii had passed the Po with their army, and had joined the Cæno-

* Bononia was their capital, now called Bologna.

A. R. 555. mani and Insubrians to oppose the Consuls with all
 Ant. C. their forces. But, when they were informed that one
 197. of them was ruining their country, they returned to defend it. In the mean time the Insubrians and Cænomani incamped upon the banks of the river Mincio; and the Consul Cornelius about five thousand paces below them. That Consul having brought over the Cænomani, prevailed upon them to remain neuter during the battle. It was fought, and the Insubrians were entirely defeated. It is said, that they left thirty-five thousand men upon the spot, and that six thousand were taken, with an hundred and thirty ensigns, and above two hundred carriages. The cities of the Cænomani, who had joined in the revolt of the Insubrians, submitted to the victors.

The Boii, who had returned home, having received advice of the entire defeat of the Insubrians, did not dare to venture a battle with Minucius, and dispersed into the towns of their country. Upon advice of this, the Iluates, a people of Liguria, submitted, without attempting a vain resistance. The Consuls informed the Senate of their good success. It was decreed, that the temples should be open three days together, and that during that time thanksgivings should be paid to the Gods for all these advantages, which were considered as a sensible effect of their protection.

Liv. xxxii. When the Consuls returned to Rome, the Senate
 22, 23. gave them audience in the temple of Bellona. They jointly demanded, that the Senate would grant them a triumph for the advantages they had gained over the enemies of the Commonwealth. Upon which two of the Tribunes of the People declared, that they would not permit them to make their demand in common; it not being reasonable, that the same reward should be granted for services that did not equally deserve it. Notwithstanding all alledged in favour of Minucius by Cornelius, who did not fear lessening his own glory by dividing it with his colleague, after long debates they were obliged to make
 their

their demands separately. Cornelius was granted a triumph for having defeated the Insubrians and Cænomani: but as for Minucius, he could not obtain the same honour of the Senate. But he made himself amends in triumphing by his own authority on the Alban mountain, after the example of some other Generals, whose case had been the same with his.

L. FURIUS PURPUREO.

A. R. 556.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Ant. C.

197.

The Gauls, except the Cænomani, were far from being entirely subjected, or totally conquered. They again found employment for the new Consuls. In a first battle, Marcellus, attacked by the Boii, lost three thousand men. He soon made himself amends for that loss. Having passed the Po, he led his troops into the territory of Coma, where the Insubrians were incamped with the inhabitants of the country, whom they had made to take arms. A battle was fought, in which, if we may believe an historian (Valerius of Antium) Marcellus killed above forty thousand of the enemy, took five hundred ensigns, four hundred and thirty-two carriages, and a great number of gold chains, of which he offered a considerable weight to Jupiter Capitolinus. The same day the camp of the Gauls was stormed and plundered. Some days after the city of Coma was taken, and twenty-eight forts surrendered presently after.

The two Consuls having united their forces, entered the country of the Ligurians, whither the Boii followed them. A second battle was fought, in which, says Livy, it fully appeared, that anger is highly capable of exalting valour. For the Romans, incensed that the Gauls should perpetually harass them by their revolts, and regarding victory less than revenge, abandoned themselves to their resentment in such a manner, that they scarce left a single man of the enemy, to carry home the news of their defeat.

A. R. 556. When advice of these successes in the Consuls let-
 Ant. C. 196. ters arrived at Rome, the Senate decreed thank-
 givings to all the Gods in the temples during three
 days. Soon after Marcellus returned to Rome, where
 a triumph was decreed him over the Insubrians and
 the inhabitants of Coma. He left his colleague the
 hopes of triumphing over the Boii.

Liv. The next year the Consul Valerius Flaccus also
 xxxiv. gained a victory over the Boii.

21. Scipio Africanus was Consul for the second time
 Ibid. 46, in the year 558. He seems to have thought it below
 47. him to descend to enemies so unworthy of his sword.
 He left to Ti. Sempronius his colleague the too easy
 glory of conquering the Insubrians and the Boii. It
 however cost him very dear. They at first attacked
 him in his camp with great vigour; and he lost abun-
 dance of men in repulsing them; but at length he
 put them to flight, and cut them to pieces. Eleven
 thousand Gauls, and five thousand Romans fell in the
 field of battle.

The war with the Gauls and Ligurians was in res-
 pect to the Romans become in a manner anniversary;
 but it broke out with more violence, and occasioned
 more terror in the year upon which we are now enter-
 ing, the 559th of Rome, than it had done before. On
 the news that fifteen thousand Ligurians had entered
 the country of Placentia, and put all to fire and
 sword, having advanced as far as the walls of the co-
 lony, and to the banks of the Po, and that the Boii
 after their example were upon the point of taking arms,
 the Senate declared, "that there was a Tumult." This
 was a form of words, that implied the importance of
 the war, and was used particularly in respect to the
 Gauls, as I have already observed elsewhere. On this
 declaration all exemptions ceased, and it was lawful
 to make such citizens take arms as were exempted
 from them in common wars.

Liv. xxxv. The hopes of plunder brought new troops to the
 3-5. Gauls every day, and above forty thousand men were
 already assembled round Pisa. The arrival of the
 Consul

Consul Minucius with his army saved the city. The enemy immediately removed their camp to the other side of the Arno, and the Consul followed them the next day, and incamped at a thousand paces from them. He defended the lands of the allies from his post, by falling upon the troops sent out by the enemy to ravage them: but he avoided coming to a battle with them, as they desired, not relying sufficiently upon his troops, which were new raised, and drawn together from different parts.

A. R. 556.
Ant. C.
196.

The other Consul L. Cornelius Merula, marching on the confines of Liguria, had led his army into the country of the Boii, where he acted against those people quite in a different manner than his colleague did against the Ligurians. He offered the Boii battle, which they did not dare to accept, chusing rather to see their lands laid waste than to hazard a general action. The Consul having destroyed the whole country with fire and sword, quitted it, and marched towards Modena. The Boii followed him without noise; and in the night seized a defile through which he was necessarily to pass, where they expected to surprize him. But the Consul having discovered their design, and avoided the ambuscade they had laid for him, he marched against them, and obliged them to come to a battle. It was long and bloody. The Boii were at length put to the rout, and cut to pieces. Fourteen thousand of them were left on the spot: near eleven hundred were taken prisoners, with two hundred and twelve ensigns, and sixty-three chariots. The Romans paid dear enough for this victory. They lost five thousand men, citizens and allies, amongst whom were several officers of distinction.

Towards the end of the year the troops of the Commonwealth were twice exposed to great danger in Liguria. First the enemy attacked the camp of the Romans, and were very near making themselves masters of it: and some few days after the Consul having entered a defile, the Ligurians seized the way through which he was to pass out of it. Minucius seeing the

Liv. *ibid.*
310.

A. R. 556. way closed up before him, prepared to return back :
 Ant. C. 196. but part of their troops had also shot up that, by which he had entered : which put the troops in mind of the ambuscades at Caudium, and presented an image of them to their eyes. The Consul had about eight hundred Numidians amongst the auxiliary troops of his army. The officer, who commanded them, came to him, and offered him to open a passage through the enemy, and to preserve the army ; adding, that he had a certain means for that effect. Minucius gave him the highest praises, and promised to reward so important a service as it deserved. The Numidians immediately mounted their horses, and began to gallop up to the posts of the Ligurians, however without making any attack. At first sight, nothing seemed more contemptible than this cavalry. Both the men and horses were little and lean. The horsemen had no belts, and were armed only with javelins. The horses had no bridles, and ran in a disorderly manner, with their necks and heads low and stretched out. To augment this contemptible appearance, they fell off their horses with design, making themselves a sight, and exposing themselves to the laughter of the enemy. Most of the Ligurians, who at first kept on their guard in their posts, in readiness to defend themselves in case of being attacked, threw down their arms, and only looked with folded arms upon a sight, that made them laugh. However the Numidians continued galloping up on every side, then flying back the same way they came, advancing however by degrees towards the end of the defile, as if against their will, and ran away with by their horses. At length spurring them on full speed, they forced the Ligurians to open, and give them passage. They then set fire to the first houses that came in their way, and afterwards to the first town they came to, and to several others in like manner, killing all that fell into their hands. The Ligurians, from the place where they were incamped, first perceived the smoke of their fires ; and presently after heard the cries of the unhappy

happy creatures they were burning and massacring in the towns and villages; and at length the old people and children, that had escaped the fury of the Numidians, came and spread terror and dismay throughout the whole camp. Most of the Ligurians, upon this, without either taking counsel, or waiting orders from any body, ran each his own way to defend their families and estates. In few hours the camp was abandoned; and the Consul delivered from the danger, continued his march, and arrived where he first intended.

A. R. 556.
Ant. C.
196.

The year following (560) the same Minucius gained a considerably important victory over the Ligurians. And their country was soon after laid in ruins by the Consul Quintius: whilst on another side his colleague Domitius reduced part of the Boii into subjection.

Liv. xxxv.
21.
Ibid. 40.

The inveteracy of the Ligurians against the Romans, had something like madness in it. They had (in the year 561) set an army on foot upon the principle they called "the Sacred Law," by which the soldiers engaged under the most dreadful oaths never to depart from the battle except victorious. They came on a sudden during the night to attack the camp of the Proconsul Minucius. That General kept his troops under arms till day, taking great care that the enemy should not force any part of his intrenchments, in which he kept close. As soon as day appeared, he made a sally upon them through two gates at once. But he did not repulse the Ligurians by this first effort, as he had hoped. They disputed the victory above two hours. At length, exhausted by the fatigue of the battle and long duty, they were not able to resist fresh troops, that continually succeeded each other; and fear effacing the remembrance of their oaths, they at length turned their backs. On their side four thousand men were killed; and the Romans lost three hundred.

Liv.
xxxvi.
38.

About two months after the Consul P. Cornelius Scipio, surnamed Nasica, gained a great battle against the army of the Boii, and made himself master of their

A.R. 556.
Ant. C.
196.

camp. The Consul obliged them to give him hostages, and deprived them of half their territory, in order that the Roman People might send colonies into it if they thought proper. He soon after set out for Rome, after having dismissed his army, and assigned them a day for their return to the city, in order to triumph with him. For he did not doubt, but a triumph would be granted him : which however met with more difficulty than he imagined. The day after his arrival, he summoned an assembly of the Senate in the temple of Bellona ; and after having given an account of the victory he had gained, he demanded permission to enter the city in triumph. P. Sempronius Blæsus, Tribune of the People, “ acknowledged, that he highly deserved that honour ; but added, that he was not for having it granted him immediately. That he had been a little too hasty in dismissing his army, and in returning to Rome. That they might have done the Commonwealth great service by marching into Liguria, and that it would be very proper to send back the Consul and his legions thither, in order to the entire reduction of the Ligurians. That then it would be the proper time to grant him a triumph.”

The Consul replied, “ that the lots had not given him Liguria, but the country of the Boii, for his province. That he had overcome that People in a pitched battle, had taken their camp, and two days after reduced the whole nation to surrender. That it was over them he asked to triumph, and not over the Ligurians. That for the rest, they ought not to wonder, that the victorious army, having no longer any enemies in the province, was returned to Rome to honour their General’s triumph. That to send it back again, as the Tribune proposed, would be a disgrace it undoubtedly did not deserve, no more than himself. That as to what personally regarded him, he thought himself too much honoured for his whole life by the glorious testimony of the Senate in his favour, when they chose him as the most worthy man of the Commonwealth, to receive the Mother of the Gods.

Gods. That that title only, though those of Consul and Triumpher were not added to it, would suffice to make his name famous throughout all ages." Remonstrances so reasonable engaged the whole Senate in his favour, and even induced the Tribune to desist from his opposition. Accordingly he triumphed over the Boii in a more honourable manner for himself, than if he had found no difficulty upon that head.

After having ran over the affairs of Gaul and Liguria, I now proceed to those of Spain. It cannot be said that there absolutely was no war there, during the four years that Philip principally employed the Roman arms, as Cn. Cornelius, who had been sent thither in 552, in the year 556, of which we are going to speak, obtained an ovation for his successes in Spain. But those wars had been little considerable, as we may conjecture from the silence of Livy.

Soon after the treaty of peace had been concluded with Philip, the joy that happy event occasioned, was interrupted by the bad news received from Spain. It formed two provinces: Hispania Citerior, which (as I have said) was on this side the Iberus, and Hispania Ulterior, on the other side of that river. Advice came, "that the Prætor C. Sempronius Tuditanus had been defeated in Hispania Citerior; that his army had been defeated and put to flight; and that several persons of distinction had been killed in that action. That Tuditanus himself had been carried off from the field of battle dangerously wounded, and had died some few days after."

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

A. R. 557.

M. PORCIUS CATO.

Ant. C.

195.

Cato had Hispania Citerior for his province. Before he set out for it, a famous contest arose concerning the law Oppia, in which he had a great share. I shall speak of it in the sequel, after I have related his military expeditions.

After

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.
Liv.
xxxiv.
8.

After this dispute had been terminated, Cato set out with twenty-five galleys, of which the allies furnished five, and repaired to the Port of * Luna, where he had ordered his army to assemble. Having caused all the vessels along the coast, of whatever kind they were, to be drawn together, he embarked his soldiers in them, and commanded them to follow him to the port Pyrenæus, from whence it was his design to advance directly against the enemy, with his whole fleet. He arrived at † Emporia, where he landed all his troops, except those for the sea-service.

Ibid. 9.

Emporia was two cities, separated by a wall, one of which was inhabited by Greeks originally of Phocæa, as well as the Massilians, and the other by Spaniards. It is surprizing, that foreigners, exposed on the one side to incursions from the sea, and on the other to the attacks of the Spaniards, a fierce and warlike nation, should be capable of supporting themselves so long upon that coast, and of preserving their liberty. This wonderful effect is only to be ascribed to vigilance and discipline, which nothing supports more amongst the weak, than the fear of being surprized by neighbours more powerful than themselves. The part of the wall on the side of the country was very well fortified, having but one gate, the guard of which was confided to one of the magistrates, who never quitted it. During the night, one third of the citizens were always posted upon the walls for their defence. And they discharged this duty, in which they relieved each other, not out of form and in obedience to the law, but with as much care, vigilance, and exactness, as if the enemy had been at the gates. They admitted no Spaniard into their city, and quitted it but seldom and with great precaution; but they were at entire liberty to do so by sea. As to the gate on the side of the Spanish city, they never went out of that except in great numbers; which usually

* In the gulf of Specia on the coast of Genoa.

† Now Ampourias, a city of Spain in Catalonia.

were that third of the inhabitants who guarded the walls during the night. The reasons that induced them to quit the place were as follows. The Spaniards, little accustomed to navigation, were highly fond of trading with this People, and to buy of them the foreign goods, which they imported in their ships; selling them in their turn the product of the country which they could spare from their own occasions. This mutual dependance on each other, gave the Greeks entrance into the Spanish city. The protection of the Romans, whose amity they cultivated with no less zeal than the Massilians, though they were not so powerful as them, contributed also to their security. And it was for this reason, they then received the Consul and his army with abundance of ardour and joy.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

M. Helvius, who had defeated the Celtiberians in Hispania Ulterior, and taken the city of * Illiturgis, at his return to Rome received the honour of an ovation; and Q. Minucius, who had commanded in Hispania Citerior, was honoured with a triumph.

Liv.
xxxiv.
10.

Whilst the Consul was incamped at no great distance from Emporia, Ambassadors came to him from the Prince of the Illergetes, in company with his son, "to demand aid of him against the rebels, without which they were not able to resist them. They represented to him, that five thousand men sufficed for defending their country, and that the enemy would no sooner see them appear, than they would retire." Cato replied, "that he was much affected with the danger, and anxiety of that Prince: but, having so great a number of enemies around him with whom he was every day upon the point of coming to blows, he could not, without manifest danger, weaken his army by dividing it." The deputies, after hearing this discourse, prostrated themselves at the Consul's feet, "conjuring him not to abandon their country

Ibid.
11—13.
Frontin.
iv. 7.

* A city of Spain in Andalusia.

A. R. 557. in the sad situation to which it was reduced : for what
 Ant. C. would become of them, if they were rejected by the
 195. Roman People ? That they had no allies besides them,
 nor any other resource in the world. That they might
 have preserved themselves from the calamity that menaced
 them, if they could have departed from their engagements,
 and taken up arms with the rest. But that they had
 contemned the threats of their neighbours from the hope
 that the Romans would be powerful enough to defend them.
 That, if, contrary to their expectations, they should see
 themselves abandoned, and the Consul inexorable to their
 prayers, they called Gods and men to witness, that it was
 against their will they entered into the revolt of the other
 States of Spain ; and that if it was their necessity to
 perish, at least they should not perish alone."

Cato dismissed them that day without any answer. Two
 cares equally affecting disturbed his repose during the whole
 night. He was unwilling to abandon his allies, and at the
 same time was desirous not to divide his troops. He saw
 great inconveniences in both : but he came to a resolution.
 He answered the deputies the next day, that though he
 apprehended weakening himself by lending his troops to
 others, however he had more regard to the danger that
 threatened them, than to the situation he was in himself.
 He commanded the third part of the soldiers of each
 cohort to prepare provisions, and to carry them on board
 the ships ; and the Captains of the vessels to be in
 readiness to set out in three days. Having given these
 orders, he dismissed two of the Ambassadors to give
 the King of the Illergetes advice of them, and kept the
 son of that Prince with him, whom he treated with great
 amity, and made him great presents. He did not let the
 Ambassadors set out, till they had seen the soldiers
 embarked.

All this was only stratagem and feint. Cato, not
 being able really to supply the allies with the reinforcement
 of troops they demanded, had conceived this
 method

method of giving them hopes of them at least. * He knew, that often, especially in war, appearances produce the same effects as reality, and that the idea only of an aid, though not yet received, but upon which there are reasons entirely to rely, suffices to inspire confidence and boldness. And accordingly this news being spread as certain throughout the country, convinced not only the Illergetes, but also the enemy, that the Romans were upon the point of arriving; upon which the rebels retired immediately.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

As the season admitted taking the field and acting, Cato marched and incamped at a thousand paces from Emporia; and from thence, leaving always part of his foldiers to guard his camp, he sent the rest to plunder the enemy's country, sometimes in one part, and sometimes in another. They acted so well, that the Spaniards did not dare to quit their fortresses. When he was sufficiently assured of the disposition of his people, and of that of the enemy, he assembled his troops, and told them: "That hitherto they had confined themselves to plundering the enemy; that the question now was to fight them, and to enrich themselves not only with the product of their lands, but with the spoils of their cities. That it was a disgrace for the Romans to have the possession of a country disputed with them, of which they were so lately masters. That it was necessary to recover it sword in hand, and to force a people, who knew better how to revolt with temerity, than to sustain a war with constancy, to resume the yoke they had thrown off." Seeing them full of ardor, he declared, that the next night he would lead them to the enemy's camp. In the mean time, he ordered them to take nourishment and repose.

Liv.
xxxiv.
13—16.

After having consulted the auspices, he set out at midnight to seize the post he had in view before the

* Sociis spem pro re ostentandam censet. Sæpe vana pro veris, maximè in bello, valuisse; & credentem se aliquid auxilii habere, perinde a quæ haberet, ipsâ fiducia, & sperando atque audendo servatum. Liv.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

enemy should perceive it, and made his troops march beyond and behind the enemy's camp. His design, as he told his soldiers, was to reduce them to the necessity of conquering, leaving them no other resource but their courage. When day appeared, after having drawn up his troops in battle, he detached three cohorts to the foot of the enemy's intrenchments. Those Barbarians, amazed to see the Roman army behind them, ran to their arms. The three cohorts immediately retired, as they had received orders, to engage the Spaniards, by that disssembled flight, to quit their intrenchments. And this accordingly happened. Whilst they were in motion in order to form themselves in order of battle, Cato, who had had time to draw up in the best manner, fell upon them before they could post themselves. He first made the cavalry of both wings advance against them. But that of the right being presently repulsed and put to flight, had put the infantry itself into some disorder. The Consul upon that ordered two chosen cohorts to move behind the right wing of the enemy, and to shew themselves at their backs, before the infantry on both sides came to blows. The Spaniards were at first terrified by this motion, seeing themselves attacked at the same time both in front and rear; but they made a vigorous defence. After having discharged their darts and javelins, they came to close fight, and the battle began again with new ardor. Cato perceiving that his troops began to grow weary, made some reserved cohorts advance to sustain and encourage them. As they were entirely fresh soldiers, and waited the signal with impatience, they had a great advantage over troops exhausted by the fatigues of a battle, which had already continued a great while. Accordingly, drawn up in the form of a wedge, they broke into the Spaniards, made them give way, and at length entirely routed them; so that being dispersed about the country, they endeavoured to regain their camp.

Cato seeing them in such disorder, ordered the second legion, which he had left in the *corps de reserve*,

to march directly and assault the enemy's camp. The victorious troops had already began the attack. The Consul, who was attentive to every thing, seeing the enemy less numerous at the gate than on his left, hastened thither at the head of the Principes and Hastati of the second legion. Those who defended that gate could not resist the vigour with which it was attacked ; and the rest, seeing the Romans had entered their lines, and were upon the point of making themselves masters of their camp, began to throw down their arms and ensigns, and to fly to the opposite gates in order to escape. But as they were too narrow to give passage to the throng that crowded to them, the soldiers of the second legion fell upon them, and made a great slaughter, whilst the rest plundered the camp. Livy tells us, that an historian (Valerius of Antium) affirms, that above forty thousand Spaniards were killed in this battle. But the same Livy, in more than one place, accuses that writer of being apt to exaggerate, and even to falsify ; and * Cato, who certainly could not be suspected of lessening his advantages, contented himself with saying, that abundance of the enemy were killed, without mentioning their number.

The States, after this victory, came from many parts to submit to the Romans ; and when Cato arrived at Tarraco, all that part of Spain situated on this side of the Iberus, and therefore called Citerior with respect to Italy, seemed entirely subjected.

Their bodies were so, but not their minds ; which appeared from the repeated revolts of some States, which after having submitted, resumed their arms as soon as the Consul was removed. Cato, apprehending that others might do the same, chose to disarm all the Spaniards that inhabited on this side of the Iberus. Those fierce nations, to whom to live without the use of arms, was not to live, were so much affected with that affront, that many of them killed themselves upon

A. R. 557
Ant. C.
195.

Liv.
xxxiv.
17, 18.
App. de
Bell. Hisp.
277.

* Cato ipse, haud sane detrectatur laudem suarum, &c.

A. R. 557. it. The Consul, having received advice of this desperate resolution, summoned the Senators of all the cities to an assembly, and told them, “ It is more
 Ant. C. 195. “ for your interest than ours, that you should remain
 “ quiet under us, as your revolts have always been
 “ attended with more calamity to your own people,
 “ than difficulty to our armies. The only means I
 “ have to prevent your defections, is to make it impossible for you to take arms. My design is to use
 “ the most gentle method for reducing you to that
 “ happy necessity. And you ought to assist me in this
 “ with your counsels. I am ready to follow such as
 “ you shall give me in preference to all other.” Seeing that they continued silent: “ I give you,” added he, “ some days to reflect upon this.” As they gave him no answer in a second assembly, he resolved for himself; and, keeping them, according to appearance, in suspense, he sent couriers to all the cities of the country, who were instructed on the same hour of the same day to deliver letters from the Consul into the hands of the elders and magistrates. They contained orders to demolish all their fortifications that instant, with menaces to make all slaves, who did not obey directly. The uncertainty of each city, whether the like orders had been given to the rest, or related only to itself, and the impossibility of holding a council, and concerting together, determined them to obey, and the order was executed the same day by most of the States. As soon as Cato received advice of this, he marched to reduce the rest of the rebels, which he easily effected.

In the disposition to revolt, that prevailed throughout the whole nation, because after having tasted the sweets of liberty, all subjection was become insupportable to them, Cato thought himself obliged, even for the good of the province, to deprive them of all resource or means of resistance. And it was evident, that the least delay would be attended with a general insurrection: on this occasion appeared of what value
 the

the ability of a General is. * The Consul, whose capacity equalled his resolution and courage, saw and examined every thing with his own eyes, and was entirely attentive to important enterprizes, without neglecting the least affairs. He did not content himself with meditating what was to be done, and giving orders accordingly to his subaltern officers : he executed the greatest part of his projects in person. There was not a single man in the whole army upon whom he imposed more pains and fatigue than upon himself, always taking the most arduous part of the service for own share. He piqued himself upon not giving place to the meanest of his soldiers in frugality, labour, and duty. To conclude, he had nothing in the army peculiar to himself, and that distinguished him from the rest, except office and command.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

The Prætor P. Manlius, who had been sent with Liv. Cato to aid him in the service, made war against the xxxiv. Turdetani, who, sustained by ten thousand Celtiberians, gave him employment enough. He wrote in consequence to the Consul, and demanded aid of him. Cato marched immediately to him. Not being able to bring the enemy to a battle, he advanced into a country, which had not yet felt the calamities of war, and put every thing in it to fire and sword. After some other expeditions, having left the greatest part of his army with the Prætor, he kept only seven cohorts with himself, with which he returned towards the Iberus, where he again subjected some States who had taken up arms in his absence. 19, 20.

Cato, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph. This was in the 558th year of Rome. Ibid. 46.

The following years there were some insurrections in Spain, but nothing very considerable passed in effect.

* In Consule ea vis animi atque ingenii fuit, ut omnia maxima minimaque per se adiret, atque ageret : nec cogitaret modo imperaretque quæ in rem essent, sed pleraque ipse per se transigeret ; nec in quemquam omnium gravius severiusque quam in semetipsum imperium exerceret ; parsimonia, & vigiliis & labore, cum ultimis militum certaret, nequicquam in exercitu suo præcipui, præter honorem atque imperium, haberet.

S E C T. II.

Contests in Rome concerning the law Oppia. Speech of the Consul Cato in favour of that law. Speech of the Tribune Valerius against the law. It is abolished. Sacred Spring. Distinguished places for the Senators in the games. Rumour occasioned by the distinction of places granted to the Senators in the shews. Regulation against usury. Embassy of the Rhodians to Antiochus King of Syria. Answer of the Roman commissioners to the Ambassadors of Antiochus. Embassy of the Romans to that Prince. Return of the ten commissioners to Rome. They shew, that it is necessary to prepare for a war with Antiochus. Hannibal becomes suspected by the Romans. Ambassadors sent from Rome to Carthage. Hannibal quits Carthage and escapes. He goes to Antiochus at Ephesus. Discourse of a philosopher in the presence of Hannibal. Conference between Quintius and the Ambassadors of Antiochus, which was ineffectual. Antiochus takes measures with Hannibal for the success of the war with the Romans. Contest between Massinissa and the Carthaginians left undetermined by the Roman deputies. Lustrum closed. Strong caballing for the Consulship. The credit of Quintius carries it against that of Scipio Africanus.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

M. PORCIUS CATO.

I HAVE deferred speaking hitherto of the famous contest, that arose in the Consulship of Cato in respect to the jewels and ornaments of the Roman ladies, in which that Consul had a great share.

Liv.
xxxiv. 1. In the interval between two important wars, of which the one (with Philip) was scarce terminated, and the other (with Antiochus) upon the point of breaking out, a quarrel happened at Rome concerning a thing inconsiderable enough in itself, but which however was the occasion of great feuds. M. Fundanius

danius and L. Valerius Tribunes of the People, proposed the abrogation of the law Oppia. It had been established in the Consulship of Q. Fabius and Ti. Sempronius, when the war with Hannibal was at its greatest height, and soon after the battle of Cannæ, so fatal to the Commonwealth. By this law the Roman ladies were prohibited "to use above half an ounce of gold in their dress; to wear habits of different colours; and to be carried either in Rome, or a thousand paces round it, in chariots drawn by horses, except on the occasion of public sacrifices." Two other Tribunes of the People, of the family of Junius Brutus, took upon themselves the defence of the law, and declared that it should not be abolished.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

For the honour of the ladies in respect to the present question, it is proper to remember, that from the earliest times they had been highly zealous for the public good, and little attached to their jewels, as they had carried in all their gold and ornaments to the public treasury to be used for the accomplishment of a vow made by Camillus on the occasion of the taking of Veii. The Senate did not suffer so pious and generous a liberality to go unrewarded, and granted the ladies permission to be carried to the sacrifices in the more distinguished and honourable kind of chariot, *pilento*; and on all other occasions, whether on festivals or not, in the more common chariot, *carpento*. It is a matter of surprize, that in the speeches which we are going to repeat, that this fact, which relates so much to them, should not be mentioned.

Liv. v. 25.

It is very probable, that the law Oppia, the institution of which is not related by Livy in its place, had remained without execution as to the first article which regards the gold; as some years after the battle of Cannæ, when the funds of the Commonwealth were entirely deficient, and all the gold and silver of the citizens were brought into the public treasury, the ladies had an ounce of gold allowed each of them to be used in their ornaments. Consequently they were

A. R. 557. not reduced at that time to the half ounce prescribed
 Ant. C. by the law Oppia. Having made these observations,
 195. I proceed to relate the fact.

Many of the principal persons of the city joined the Tribunes in this dispute, some in favour of the law, and some against it. The Capitol was filled with multitudes of the populace, who were divided in opinion as well as the rich. The ladies convinced that they ought not to confine themselves to the common rules of decency in an affair wherein they were so sensibly and personally interested, dispersed themselves in the streets, and besieged all the avenues to the Forum, intreating all those who passed, to permit the ladies, at a time when the Commonwealth was resuming its former state, and the fortunes of individuals were increasing every day, to resume also their antient ornaments. They went so far as to address the Consuls, Prætors, and other magistrates, and to conjure them to favour their cause.

Liv.
 xxxiv.
 24.

M. Porcius Cato, one of the Consuls, inexorable and deaf to their prayers, spoke thus in favour of the law, that it was proposed to abolish. “ Romans, if
 “ every one of us had known how to preserve his
 “ authority in his own house, and to make his wife
 “ pay him due respect, we should not be at this time
 “ so much at a loss to keep them within the bounds
 “ of their duty. But, because we have suffered them
 “ to give us the law at home, that imperious sex is for
 “ imposing it upon us even in the Forum; and af-
 “ ter having got the better of each of us in particular,
 “ they are now in hopes of overcoming us all toge-
 “ ther, and in a body. Do we not know, that there
 “ is nothing more dangerous, than to suffer the wo-
 “ men to hold private assemblies, and to form in-
 “ trigues and cabals together. What then is become
 “ of that antient modesty and reserve that prevailed
 “ amongst the sex? As for me, I declare it was not
 “ without blushing, that I passed through these crowds
 “ of women to get to the Forum. If I had not been
 “ more prevented by the respect I have for each of them
 “ in

“ in particular, than for them all in general, and had
 “ not been desirous to spare them the shame of a Con-
 “ sul’s expostulations, I should certainly have asked
 “ them: Are you not ashamed, ladies, to run in this
 “ manner from street to street, to block up the
 “ ways and passages, and to address requests, and
 “ make your court to men who are not your husbands?
 “ The very favour in question could you not have
 “ asked in private at home of your husbands? Are
 “ you then more liberal of caresses in public than in
 “ private, and to strangers, than to those to whom alone
 “ you owe both your love, and the marks that denote
 “ it. But, to express myself better, you should only
 “ be informed at home of what passes here, and of
 “ what laws are annulled or established, if you confined
 “ yourselves within the bounds which modesty pre-
 “ scribes your sex? Our ancestors did not permit the
 “ women to transact any affair even of a private kind,
 “ without being authorized; and always kept them
 “ in subjection to their fathers, brothers, or husbands.
 “ And now, if the Gods do not order it otherwise,
 “ we shall soon admit them to share in the government
 “ of the state!

“ Do not believe, Romans, that their sole end is
 “ to recover the advantages of which the law Oppia
 “ hath deprived them. They aspire at a liberty, or,
 “ to speak more justly, at a licence without bounds.
 “ You know by how many laws, as by so many curbs,
 “ our ancestors subjected them to their husbands;
 “ and how much difficulty we still have, notwith-
 “ standing those ties, to keep them within their duty
 “ and obedience. If they once attain to break
 “ through them one after another, it will not be pos-
 “ sible for you to support them. As soon as they
 “ shall become your equals, they will believe they
 “ have a right to govern you.

“ But, some body may say, all they demand is,
 “ that no new servitude be imposed upon them: it is
 “ not from justice that they desire to be exempted,
 “ but from a slavery unjustly imposed upon them.

A. R. 557. " No, Romans : their pretensions do not terminate
 Ant. C. " in that. In forcing you to abolish a law, the uti-
 195. " lity of which you have experienced so many
 " years, they are for striking at all the rest. * There
 " is no law equally commodious to all; and all
 " that is proposed in establishing some new one is,
 " that it may be beneficial to the greater part of the
 " citizens, and to the Commonwealth in general.
 " If those to whom the law is disagreeable, are al-
 " lowed to cause it to be annulled; to what purpose
 " would the people make institutions, that were to
 " be cancelled by those against whom they were
 " made?

" But after all, what is the important affair then,
 " that alarms the ladies so much at present, and which
 " makes them run about as if they were in despair,
 " and almost thrust themselves into the assemblies of
 " the Roman People? Do they come to ask us to
 " ransom their fathers, husbands, children, or bro-
 " thers, become the prisoners of Hannibal? Thanks
 " to the Gods, the Commonwealth is safe from these
 " calamities, and we have reason to believe it will
 " be so for ever. But however, when that was the
 " case, you were deaf to their prayers, how legiti-
 " mate soever in their foundation. If it be not ten-
 " derness for their families, it is perhaps through a
 " motive of religion that they assemble; to receive
 " the mother of the Gods, just arrived from Pessinus
 " in Phrygia? For, in a word, I should be glad that
 " they could give some specious reason for their in-
 " surrection. Let us hear what they say themselves,
 " Romans. We demand, say they, that we may be
 " suffered to appear before your eyes, glittering with
 " gold and purple; to ride through the city, on fe-
 " stivals and other days, in our chariots, as in triumph,
 " and trampling under foot the law, that restrains
 " our pride; in a word, that bounds may be set no

* Nulla lex satis commodo omnibus est : id modo quæritur, si ma-
 jori parti, & in summam prodest.

“ longer either to our expences, or our luxury. A. R. 557.
 “ And it is to this, properly speaking, their requests Ant. C.
 “ tend. 195.

“ I have * often complained to you of the luxury
 “ of the women and that of the men, as well magi-
 “ strates as private persons. You have often heard
 “ me say, that the Commonwealth was sick of two op-
 “ posite distempers, avarice and luxury; scourges
 “ which have subverted the greatest empires. The
 “ state becomes more flourishing every day; it conti-
 “ nually makes new acquisitions: it hath already ex-
 “ tended its sway into Greece and Asia, opulent
 “ countries, that abound with all that can attract
 “ the passions: we have already possessed ourselves
 “ of the riches of Kings. But it is this very opulence,
 “ that alarms me, and makes me tremble for the
 “ Commonwealth. I am afraid, that the spoils of
 “ the vanquished will be fatal to us, and that having
 “ seized so much riches, we shall become slaves to
 “ them. Believe me, Romans, when Marcellus
 “ brought so many exquisite statues into this city
 “ from Syracuse, he introduced dangerous enemies.
 “ I hear nothing now but People admiring the orna-
 “ ments of Corinth and Athens, and deriding the
 “ earthen statues of our Gods, placed in the front of
 “ the temples of Rome. As for my part, I prefer
 “ those Gods, such as they are, to those of foreign
 “ nations: for they have hitherto been favourable to
 “ us, and I hope always will, as long as we leave
 “ them in their places, and do not think of substitut-
 “ ing others to them.

“ In the time of our fathers, King Pyrrhus directed
 “ Cineas his Ambassador to make presents, not only

* Sæpe me quærentem de fæminarum, sæpe de virorum, nec de privatorum modò, sed etiam magistratuum sumptibus audistis; diversisque duobus vitiis; avaritia & luxuria, civitatem laborare: quæ pestes omnia magna imperia everterunt. Hæc ego, quo melior lætiorque in dies fortuna reipublicæ est, imperiumque crescit, & jam in Græciam Asiamque transcendimus, omnibus libidinum illecebris repletas, & regias etiam attræctamus gazas, eo plus horreo, ne illæ magis res nos operiant, quam nos illas.

A. R. 557. " to our men, but our women, in order to engage
 Ant. C. " them in his interests. The law Oppia was not then
 195. " in being against the luxury and levity of the sex.
 " However, not one of them accepted the proffered
 " gifts. What reason can be assigned for so generous
 " a refusal? The same which our ancestors had for
 " not making a law upon this head: Because there
 " was no kind of luxury to restrain. As Diseases
 " must be known, before proper remedies are sought
 " for them; so vices must arise before laws are made
 " to check their growth. At a time when the ladies
 " refused the gold and purple offered them, there
 " was no occasion for laws, against the abuse of them.
 " Things are much changed. If Cineas were to re-
 " turn now with his presents, he would find the wo-
 " men in the public places entirely ready to receive
 " them.

" As for me, there are passions of which I cannot
 " well comprehend the cause. For, as I should not
 " wonder, that a lady should think it a kind of dis-
 " grace, and felt some indignation, if she were prohi-
 " bited what were allowed to others; so I cannot see,
 " what should give pain to any one in particular
 " in a law, which makes no difference between them
 " in respect to their dress and ornaments. It is a vi-
 " cious and reproachable shame, to blush either for a
 " prudent œconomy, or for poverty itself. But the
 " law spares you this shame, in taking upon itself,
 " by the equality it establishes between the rich and
 " poor, your not wearing the ornaments and pomp,
 " which are not seen in your dress.

" This is exactly that equality, says a rich lady, that
 " I cannot bear. Why am not I distinguished from
 " others by the gold and purple, which I am in a con-
 " dition to display in my attire? Why is the poverty
 " of others concealed under the shadow of this law, so
 " that the simplicity of their appearance may be attri-
 " buted to the prohibition, and not to the want of means.
 " Are you desirous, Romans, to excite an emulation
 " of luxury between your wives, which would induce
 the

“ the rich to provide themselves with jewels and or- A. R. 557.
 “ naments that others cannot attain; and the poor to Ant. C.
 “ make efforts above their fortunes, to avoid the con- 195.
 “ tempt, which so evident a difference would draw
 “ upon them. Certainly, as soon as they once begin
 “ to think That shameful, that is not so, Vice, which
 “ is the only thing they ought to blush at, will cease
 “ to give them confusion. She who hath money
 “ enough of her own, will adorn herself at her own
 “ expence: and she who hath not, will ask it of her
 “ husband. Unhappy the husband, who either grants
 “ his wife her request; or refuses her; when he shall
 “ see her receive from another, what he was unwilling
 “ to give her himself. Do we not already see them,
 “ publicly and without scruple, make requests to
 “ men, who are not their husbands; and earnestly
 “ solicit favourable suffrages, which they even ob-
 “ tain of some, whilst themselves are inexorable in
 “ what regards their families? Reflect well upon
 “ this. As soon as the law shall set no bounds to the
 “ expences of your wives, it will not be possible for
 “ you ever to do so yourselves. And do not imagine,
 “ Romans, that things will remain upon the same foot,
 “ as they were before the establishment of the law.
 “ * It is better for a criminal not to be accused, than
 “ to be acquitted: and we may say also of luxury,
 “ that if it had not been attacked at all, it would have
 “ been more supportable and less excessive, than it
 “ will be for the future, like some wild beast, whom
 “ chains have only enraged, and which, when loose,
 “ becomes in effect more furious than it was before.
 “ My opinion is, Romans, that you should let the
 “ law Oppia subsist in all its force. Whatever you
 “ may resolve, I hope the Gods will make it for the
 “ good and glory of the Commonwealth.”

The Tribunes then who had affirmed, that they would oppose the attempt of their colleagues, having

* Et hominem improbum non accusari tutius est, quam absolvi: & luxuria non mota tolerabilior esset, quam erit nunc, ipsis vinculis, sicut fera bestia, irritata deinde emissâ.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

seconded Cato's discourse with some arguments of the like nature; L. Valerius answered their objections with the following speech. " If only private persons
" had appeared either against or for the proposal we
" have made to the People, I should have contented
" myself with the reasons on both sides, have been
" silent, and quietly left the decision to your suffrages.
" But as the Consul hath attacked it, a person highly
" worthy in his private capacity, and to oppose us,
" hath not only used his authority, which alone would
" have been of no small weight, but also an elaborate
" discourse of sufficient length, I find myself obliged
" to answer him.

" And after all, he has exercised his vehemence
" much more to censure the conduct of the ladies,
" than to refute our proposal. He hath used the
" odious terms, intrigue, cabal, and insurrection, in
" speaking of the sollicitation and intreaties which the
" ladies employ to induce you at this time, when we
" are entirely at peace, and the Commonwealth hap-
" py and flourishing, to abolish a law made against
" them in the most unhappy conjunctures of a danger-
" ous and bloody war: but we * know M. Cato to
" be an orator, not only of great force, but sometimes
" even harsh and excessive in his expressions, though
" at bottom his genius and disposition are gentle and
" humane. For indeed, what have the ladies done
" of extraordinary or amazing, when in a cause that
" concerns them, they have appeared in publick to
" solicit their judges? Is this the first time, that
" they have been seen to appear in great numbers?
" I shall use against you, Cato, only your own books
" † *De Originibus*. You tell us in them yourself, that
" they have often done so, and always for the good of
" the Commonwealth. I shall quote no examples:
" they are known by all the world, and you cannot

* Et M. Catonem oratorem non solum gravem, sed interdum etiam trucem esse scimus omnes, cum ingenio sit mitis.

† It is an history composed by Cato, the first books of which treated of the origin and foundation of every city in Italy.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

“ deny that. But in all these cases, you will say, their motives were different. I know it; but it suffices for me to shew, that their present behaviour, which is imputed to them as a crime, is no new thing. And what have they done after all? † We must certainly be very nice and captious, if we take offence at the requests of the most illustrious ladies of the city, when even those of slaves are heard by their masters with patience.

“ I come now to the fact in question, in respect to which the Consul has affirmed, first that no law ought to be abolished; and secondly, that the law Oppia, instituted against the luxury of the women, is of all laws that which ought by no means to have any change made in it.

“ To reason right on this head, we must distinguish two kinds of laws. Some have been instituted not for a time but for ever, and for their perpetual and general utility. These ought never to be annulled, unless experience shews, that they are defective, or are rendered ineffectual by some change in the state. There are others, to which recourse has been only had in certain conjunctures, and on particular occasions: the latter are, to use the expression, mortal and transitory, and ought to be void, when the reasons that made them necessary, subsist no longer. War often establishes laws, which had been made during peace, and peace such as war had given birth to; as a ship is differently managed during calms, and during storms.

“ The date of the law Oppia is too recent not to be known by all the world; every body knows its antiquity to be not of above twenty years. If, before this law, the ladies lived during so great a series of years without any reproach; ought we to apprehend that after it is annulled, they will abandon themselves to licentiousness and irregularity? I agree, that if this law had been instituted to re-

† Superbas medius fidius aures habemus, si cum domini fervorum non fastidiant preces, nos rogari ab honestis foeminis indignamur.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

“ form the luxury of the ladies, we might fear, that
 “ after it should be cancelled, they might give them-
 “ selves up to it with still less reserve than before.
 “ But the very circumstances, in which it was passed,
 “ evidently shew what gave occasion for it. Hanni-
 “ bal was then in the heart of Italy. Victorious from
 “ Cannæ, he had already reduced Tarentum, Arpi,
 “ and Capua. He threatened to besiege Rome with
 “ his triumphant army. Our allies had abandoned
 “ us. We had neither soldiers to recruit our armies,
 “ mariners to man our fleet, nor money to pay our
 “ troops. In a word, we were in want of all things.
 “ All the citizens carried their gold and silver into the
 “ public treasury. That of widows and wards was
 “ likewise employed for the occasions of the state.
 “ Can we imagine, that in such a time of calamity,
 “ the ladies could give themselves up to a luxury
 “ that required a law to reform it. Who does not
 “ see, that it was the wants and misery of the pub-
 “ lic, which by obliging all private persons to devote
 “ their fortunes to the pressing necessities of the state,
 “ gave birth to this law, to be in force only as long
 “ as the reasons for its being established should re-
 “ quire.

“ And shall all orders of the State, and even every
 “ individual, experience the prosperity of the Com-
 “ monwealth; and our women be the only persons
 “ excluded from sharing in the fruits of the public
 “ peace and tranquillity? We wear purple in the
 “ great offices and priesthoods: our children are a-
 “ dorned with it: we permit the magistrates of the
 “ colonies and municipal cities to wear it; besides
 “ many other officers of a still lower rank: and shall
 “ the Roman ladies be the only part of us, to whom
 “ purple habits are prohibited? May we make fur-
 “ niture of it, and shall our wives not be allowed to
 “ make a mantle of it?

“ Again, in respect to purple which fades and con-
 “ sumes, I conceive there might be a pretext, un-
 “ just no doubt, but however specious, with which
 “ the

“ the rigour of your refusal might be palliated. But
 “ even this pretext is defective in respect to gold,
 “ upon which, excepting the fashion, nothing is lost.
 “ And the permission of the use of that precious
 “ metal to the ladies is so far from being pernicious,
 “ that it is a resource for families, and even for the
 “ State, as you have already experienced upon very
 “ many occasions.

“ M. Cato says, that no particular lady has any
 “ room to be jealous, as long as others are not more
 “ superbly dressed than herself. I own it : but they
 “ are all touched with indignation, when they see the
 “ wives of the Latines adorned with ornaments pro-
 “ hibited to them : when they see them glittering with
 “ purple and gold, and carried in pomp through the
 “ city in their chariots, whilst they follow on foot, as
 “ if they were inferiors in the cities of Latium, and
 “ not in Rome, where the supremacy of power and
 “ empire resides. If so degrading a distinction is ca-
 “ pable of mortifying men, what impression do you
 “ think it must make on women, who have less force
 “ of mind, and who are extremely sensible to the
 “ slightest subjects of chagrin.

“ They cannot exercise the magistracies or priest-
 “ hoods : the advantage of conquering, overcoming,
 “ and displaying the spoils of the enemy to the eyes
 “ of the citizens, is not for their sex. Neatness, dress,
 “ ornament, are their portion : and this is what con-
 “ stitutes their joy and glory : these are their riches
 “ and treasure, and if I may say so, their little do-
 “ mestic empire. Wherefore should they be envied
 “ this slight satisfaction ?

“ But after all, what do you apprehend from them ?
 “ Though the law Oppia shall be abolished, will it
 “ not still be at your discretion to retrench what you
 “ think fit ? Will they depend less upon you as wives,
 “ daughters, and sisters ? As long as their relations
 “ live, they continue in subjection ; and they them-
 “ selves detest the liberty which they obtain by the
 “ death of their husbands and fathers. They had
 “ much

A. R. 557. " much rather, that their ornaments should depend
 Ant. C. " on you, than on the law. And on your side, you
 195. " ought to treat them as companions, not as slaves ;
 " and desire, that they should consider you as affec-
 " tionate fathers and tender husbands, rather than as
 " imperious masters.

" I have not forgot the odious terms of sedition
 " and revolt ; used by the Consul, speaking of the
 " concourse of the ladies in the city. Would not
 " these expressions give us room to believe, that they
 " would at this time, as the incensed People did for-
 " merly, seize the sacred mountain, or mount Aven-
 " tine ? Women are born for subjection, and they
 " do not seek to shake off the yoke. This is a rea-
 " son why we should endeavour to soften it, and to
 " treat them with the more moderation, as they are
 " less in a condition to resist our power."

Liv. After the law had been thus spoken for and against
 xxxiv. 8. this day, the next, the ladies were seen dispersing
 themselves in still greater crowds in public. They
 went all in a body and besieged the houses of the Tri-
 bunes, who opposed the change they so much desired,
 and gave them no rest, till they promised to desist ;
 and then the law Oppia was repealed by the suffrages
 of all the Tribes : which happened, as we have already
 said, twenty years after it had been instituted.

Cato, as soon as this affair was concluded, set out
 for Spain, and there made war with the success we
 have related above.

I should now proceed to the war of the Romans
 with Antiochus, which will from this time be our
 great object, and which certainly merits our whole at-
 tention. But first I shall here relate some facts de-
 tached from the rest of our history, which I have omit-
 ted hitherto, to avoid interrupting the series of our
 narration.

Ibid. 44. Under the Consuls M. Porcius and L. Valerius, the
 557th year of Rome, the Sacred Spring had been ob-
 served as we have related. There had been some de-
 fect in the manner things had passed. The next year
 it

it was renewed. By the Sacred Spring is understood all the cattle brought forth in the months of March and April. A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

The Censors Sex. Ælius Pætus and C. Cornelius Cethegus nominated the Consul P. Scipio Prince of the Senate, who had already obtained that honour under the preceding Censors. These Censors also acquired great esteem from the Senate by the order they gave the Curule Ædiles to assign the Senators distinguished places at the Shews, at which they had hitherto been present mingled with the People. Liv.
xxxiv. 44.

It was in the Roman Games celebrated the 558th year of Rome, that the Senate was present for the first time at these shews separated from the People. This distinction, like all other innovations, gave occasion for much discourse, and was approved or condemned at Rome according to the different manner in which People were affected with it. Some say, "That at length a privilege was granted to the most august order of the Commonwealth, which had long been its due." Others on the contrary declared, "that honour was done the Senate at the expence of the People. That all differences made between the orders of the Commonwealth were so many attempts against unity and liberty. That during five hundred and fifty-eight years the citizens had been present at the Shews confounded with each other. What new reason could the Senators either have for shunning the company of the private citizens, or the rich for not sitting down by the poor? That it was a new species of pride and haughtiness, of which there was no example in any other Republic." And lastly it is said, that Scipio Africanus himself repented the having supported this innovation with the authority of the Consulship. * So true it is, that all changes are odious in States, and that People always choose rather to adhere to their antient customs, unless they discover some evident

* Adeo nihil motum ex antiquo, præbabile est: veteribus, nisi quæ usus evidenter arguit, stari malunt. Liv.

A. R. 557. abuse in them. † Cicero also observes, that not only
 Ant. C. the wisest and best inclined citizens of Rome disap-
 195. proved this step of Scipio, but that he often blamed
 himself for it; and there is great reason to believe
 that it did not a little contribute to alienate the affec-
 tion of the People from him, and to change their fa-
 vour, which hitherto had declared for him in so distin-
 guished a manner, into a kind of hatred and aversion.

Liv. xxxv. A disorder that was become very notorious, at the
 7. same time engaged the attention of the public. Usury
 had multiplied the debts of the citizens in an excessive
 manner. ‡ Laws had been made at different times to
 keep it within bounds. But avarice had found the
 secret to elude them, in obliging those who had occa-
 sion for money to give bonds for the sums lent them
 in the name of allies, who were not subject to the
 laws of Rome. Usury, being become unrestrained
 by this fraud, crushed debtors with impunity. After
 enquiry had been made into proper remedies for this
 evil, it was at length decreed that the allies should
 come and declare the sums they had lent from a cer-
 tain fixed time, with permission to try the disputes they
 might have with their creditors, either according to
 the Roman law, or that of the Latines, at their option.
 The Roman laws were more rigorous, than those of the
 Latines, against usury. But, these declarations having
 shewn to what excesses fraud had carried the debts of
 the citizens, M. Sempronius, one of the Tribunes of
 the People, proposed and caused a law to be passed,
 which decreed, that the allies should conform, in re-
 spect to loans of money to the Romans, to the laws in
 force at Rome.

Tacitus had reason to say, that notwithstanding the
 severe regulations, which were made from time to

† Ille, ut dicitur, non solum à sapientissimis hominibus, qui tum
 erant, verum etiam à seipso accusatus est, quod cum Consul esset cum
 Ti. Longo passus est tum primum à populari consensu senatoria subsellia
 separari. *Fragm. Orat. pro C. Cornelio.*

‡ These laws are spoken of elsewhere.

time * against usury, avarice, wonderfully fruitful in resources, always found new means to evade the rigour of the laws. In consequence, the year after the regulation we have just spoke of was decreed, many usurers had great fines laid upon them.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

We have observed in the consulship of C. Marcius and Cn. Manlius II. the 398th year of Rome, that the interest of money lent was fixed at one *per cent. per annum, unciarium fœnus*: and ten years after at half, *semmunciarium fœnus*. This seems difficult to believe: however, this is the sense of these Latin terms, according to the most learned interpreters.

The war of Macedonia had ended very opportunely for the Romans, who otherwise would have had two powerful enemies, Philip and Antiochus, upon their hands at the same time. For it was evident, that Rome would soon be obliged to enter into a war with the King of Syria, who made new conquests every day in Asia, and was preparing to enter Europe, with the resolution to assist Philip, who still defended himself, and to prevent him from being crushed by the Romans.

C. CORNELIUS.

Q. MINUCIUS.

A. R. 555.
Ant. C.
197.

The Rhodians, on this occasion, gave the Roman People a shining proof of their fidelity, and zeal for the general good of Greece. For, without being terrified by the formidable war, which so bold a step might draw upon them, they sent Ambassadors to Antiochus as far as Nephelis, a promontory of Cilicia, to declare to him, that if he advanced any farther, they would put to sea against him with their fleet; not that they had any cause of enmity against him, but to prevent him from joining Philip, and that he should not oppose the design of the Romans to re-instate the liberty of Greece. Though the commission

Liv.
xxxiii. 20.

* Multis plebiscitis obviam itum fraudibus: quæ totiens repressæ, miras per artes rursus oriebantur. TACIT. Annal. vi. 16.

A. R. 555.
Ant. C.
197. with which these Ambassadors were charged was highly of a nature to exasperate a Monarch so powerful as Antiochus, he stifled the emotions of his rage, and told them: "That he would send his Ambassadors to Rhodes, with orders to renew the alliances which his ancestors and himself had made with that Commonwealth, and to assure it that neither itself nor its allies had any thing to apprehend from a Prince, who had no design against them; and that as to the Romans, it was evident, that he had no desire to break with them, from the embassy he had lately sent to them, and the obliging and honourable answers returned to him by the Senate." For, indeed, the Ambassadors of whom he spoke, were lately returned from Rome, where they had met with the most favourable reception, and had been treated on their departure with all possible marks of amity and good-will. In which the Romans, according to the usual rules of policy, had acted conformably to the present state of their affairs: for they were still uncertain concerning the success of the war in Macedonia.

A. R. 556.
Ant. C.
196.

L. FURIUS PURPUREO.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Liv.
xxxiii. 34,
35.

When that war was terminated, the Romans assumed a new stile. In the audience, which Quintius and the ten commissioners of the Senate gave several Ambassadors of the Kings and Republicks, those of Antiochus were introduced first. And upon their only giving them words to no effect, as they had done at Rome, they were told, not in ambiguous terms, as before, when they had Philip to fear, but in the clearest and most express manner, "that he must abandon the cities of Greece and Asia, which had been in the possession of Philip, or Ptolomy, and must leave those which were free in tranquillity. That, in particular, neither himself, nor his armies, must enter Europe." When the assembly was dismissed, three of those commissioners set out for the court of Antiochus.

That

That Prince had persevered in his views. The A. R. 556.
Ant. C.
196. three commissioners and a deputy sent from Rome, found him at Lyfimachia, the principal city of the Liv. Thracian * Chersonesus, employed in rebuilding it. xxxi. 39,
40.

They were attended by some deputies from the Polyb.
xvii. 769,
770.
App. de
bell. Syr.
p. 86—89. Grecian cities of Asia. In the first interviews which the Romans had with the King, every thing passed in formalities, and reciprocal professions of amity. But when they came to treat of affairs, things had a very different aspect. L. Cornelius, who spoke, demanded, "That Antiochus should restore to Ptolomy all the cities he had usurped from him: that he should evacuate all those which had belonged to Philip, and which he had surprized whilst the King of Macedonia was employed against the Romans; it not being just that he should reap the fruits of a war, which had caused the latter so many fatigues and dangers: that he should leave the Grecian cities of Asia that enjoyed their liberty at peace. He added, that the Romans were much surprized, that Antiochus had entered Europe with two numerous land and sea armies, and that he was repairing the city of Lyfimachia: enterprises, which could have no purpose but to attack them."

Antiochus answered all this article by article. "First, Ptolomy was going to be his son-in-law, and that he should have satisfaction, when the marriage, which was already concluded, took effect. That as to the Grecian cities, which demanded to retain their liberty, it was from him, and not from the Romans, they were to hold it. As to Lyfimachia, he said that he rebuilt it for a place of residence for his son Seleucus: that Thrace, and the Chersonesus, which was a part of it, were his; that they had been conquered from Lyfimachus by Seleucus Nicator, one of his ancestors, and that he came thither as to his own inheritance. As to Asia, and the cities he had taken from Philip, he did not know by what title the Romans

* A Peninsula of Romania in Turkey in Europe.

A. R. 556. tended to dispute the possession of them with him.
 Ant. C. 196. That he desired them to intermeddle no more in the affairs of Asia, than he did in those of Italy."

The Romans having demanded, that the deputies from Smyrna and Lampsacus should be introduced, they had audience. They spoke in so free a manner as highly exasperated Antiochus, and he cried out in a passion, that he did not refer those affairs to the arbitration of the Romans, but accepted the Rhodians for judges. The assembly separated in disorder; none of the parties being satisfied, and every thing tending to an open rupture.

A. R. 557.
 Ant. C. 195.

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

M. PORCIUS.

Liv.
 xxxiii. 44.

When the ten commissioners, sent to regulate the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome, and had given an account of their commission, they informed the Senate, " that they must expect and prepare for a new war, still more dangerous than that they had lately terminated. That Antiochus had entered Europe with a strong sea and land-army. That upon a false report of Ptolomy's death, he had already set out to seize Egypt, without which Greece would at this time have been the theatre of war. That the Ætolians, a restless people, and very ill-inclined to Rome, would not continue long in peace."

Bid. 45.

Another affair no less serious engrossed the Romans, and gave them just cause of apprehension: it regarded Hannibal. He had continued quiet at Carthage during six years from the conclusion of the peace with the Romans, and had filled the first offices in the State. During that time he had undertaken, and effected, a reformation in the administration of justice and the revenues. Peace and civil affairs were become a new scene of action for him, in which he shewed talents not inferior to those, which have made us hitherto admire him in war; and such as argued him one of those superior geniusses, born to excel in all things. The par-

particulars of these facts may be seen in the first volume of the Antient History.

A.R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.

This double reformation introduced in the government, occasioned great outcries against Hannibal. "His enemies wrote to the principal persons, and their friends, at Rome perpetually, that he held secret intelligence with Antiochus King of Syria: that he often received couriers from him, and that that Prince had underhand sent trusty persons to him to concert measures for carrying on the war he meditated. * That he was of a fierce, insuperable disposition, like those wild beasts that it is impossible to tame. That he complained, that Carthage was enervated in idleness, and in a manner dozed in inaction. That only the sound of arms could rouse them from their stupefaction, and restore them to their antient vigour." These discourses were hearkened to at Rome; and what had passed in the last war, of which he had been almost the sole author and promoter, made them very probable.

Scipio always strongly opposed the violent resolutions some were for taking upon this head; representing, that it was below the dignity of the Roman People to lend their name to the hatred and accusations of Hannibal's enemies, to support their unjust prejudices with their authority, and inveterately to pursue him in the bosom of his country, as if it had not sufficed for the Romans to have overcome him in the field sword in hand. Notwithstanding remonstrances so wise and so full of humanity, the Senate nominated three deputies, and instructed them to carry their complaints to Carthage, and to demand, that Hannibal should be delivered up to them. When they arrived there, though they covered their voyage with a different pretext, Hannibal perceived, that he only was aimed at. He used frequently to

Liv.
xxxiii. 47.

Ibid. 47.

* Ut feras quasdam nunquam mitescere, sic immitem, implacabilem ejus viri animum esse. Marcescere otio situque civitatem, queri eum, & inertia sopiri [this word has been supplied for operis, which conveyed no sense] nec, sine armorum sonitu, excitari posse. Liv.

A. R. 557. say, that the Romans had given the Carthaginians
 Ant. C. peace to make war upon him alone, which would
 195. end only with his life. He therefore resolved to comply with the times; and after having taken all the measures necessary to his retreat, he appeared great part of the day in the public place, to avoid giving any suspicion. In the evening, he quitted the city with two domesticks, who knew nothing of his design, arrived on the coast of the sea, and escaped in a vessel, which he had caused to be provided secretly, * deploring the fate of his country more than his own.

The Roman Ambassadors being introduced into the Senate of Carthage, represented, “ that they were well informed at Rome, that it was principally at Hannibal’s solicitation, Philip had made war upon the Roman People. That the same Hannibal incessantly sent letters and couriers to Antiochus with the same view, and that he would never rest till he had kindled the flames of war throughout the universe. They added, that if the Carthaginians desired to convince the Roman People, that the public council had no share in all these intrigues, they ought not to suffer them to pass with impunity.” The Carthaginians answered, without hesitating, that they were disposed to do all that the Romans should think just and reasonable.

Liv. But Hannibal was no longer in their power. He
 xxxiii. 48. landed at Tyre, the foundress of Carthage, where he was received as into another country. After having stayed there some days, he set out for Antioch, which the King had lately quitted; after whom he went to Ephesus. The arrival of a General of such merit and reputation gave him great pleasure, and did not a little contribute to determine him in respect to the war against the Romans: for hitherto he had always seemed uncertain and fluctuating in respect to the choice he should take.

* Sæpius patriæ, quam suos eventus miseratus. Liv. Gronovius has substituted suos to suorum.

It was in this city that a philosopher, who passed for the finest speaker in Asia, called Phormio, had the imprudence to talk a great while in the presence of Hannibal upon the duties of a General of an army, and upon the rules of the art military. The whole audience was charmed with his eloquence. As the Carthaginian Captain was pressed to give his opinion, offended at the arrogance of a philosopher, who had taken upon him to give lessons upon the subject of war to Hannibal : * “ I have (said he) seen many doating old men in my life, but never saw so great a dotard as Phormio before.”

A. R. 557.
Ant. C.
195.
Cic. de
orat. ii. 75.

L. CORNELIUS.

Q. MINUCIUS.

A. R. 559.
Ant. C.
193.

On the side of Antiochus and the Romans, great preparations were made for an approaching war. Ambassadors came to Rome from all the States of Greece, a great part of Asia Minor, and from several Kings. They had an immediate and favourable audience of the Senate : but, as the affair of Antiochus required much discussion, it was referred to Quintus and the ten commissioners, some of whom had already conferred with the King either in Asia, or at the city of Lyfismachia.

Liv.
xxxiv. 37.

The dispute was warm on both sides. The King's Ambassadors, on the proposals made to them by Quintus, declared, “ that they were strangely surprized, that their master having sent them solely to make an alliance with the Romans, they should take upon them to give him the law, and to prescribe to him what cities he should keep, and what abandon. That they might act in that manner with Philip, whom they had granted peace, after having defeated him, and not with Antiochus, with whom they had never been at war.”

* Respondisse fertur : multos se deliros senes sæpe vidisse ; sed qui magis quam Phormio deliraret, vidisse neminem.

A. R. 559.
Ant. C.
193.

Quintius, far from abating any thing of his first proposals, explained himself more precisely, and said :
“ That he had two things to propose to them, without one of which they might inform the King, that he must not expect the amity of the Romans. The first is, that if he would not have us intermeddle with what regards Asia, he must on his side absolutely renounce Europe. The second, that if he refuses to keep within the bounds of Asia, and is determined to extend his sway into Europe, he ought not to think it strange, that the Romans believe themselves also in the right to retain the friends they have already in Asia, and even to make new ones there.”

Hegeſianax, who ſpoke for the King, replied,
“ That there was an enormous difference between depriving Antiochus of the cities of Thrace and the Chersonesus, which his ancestors had possessed in right of conquest, and excluding the Romans from entering Asia, where they had never possessed an inch of land. That the King, their master, was desirous to make an alliance with the Romans, that might do him honour, and not a treaty that might reflect shame upon him.”

Quintius, in concert with his Colleagues, after much discourse and many replies, gave his final answer to the King's Ambassadors, “ That the Romans persisted in the resolution they had taken of giving liberty to the Grecian cities of Asia, as they had done to those of Europe : that they should consider, whether this condition suited Antiochus.” They answered, “ that they neither had the will nor the power to accept any condition, that tended to depriving Antiochus of any part of his dominions.” The conference ended without any thing being concluded.

The next day, Quintius introduced all the Ambassadors of Greece and Asia into the Senate, and after having informed them of all that had passed on both sides in the conference, he directed each of them to tell those who sent them, “ that the Roman People were determined to defend their liberty against Antiochus.

Antiochus with the same zeal and courage, as they had evidenced against Philip, and that he was in hopes to do it with the same success." The Ambassadors of Antiochus conjured the Senate, "to precipitate nothing in an affair of that importance; to give the King time to reflect; and to do so themselves on their side, before they proceeded to a resolution, which would disturb the tranquillity of the universe." Nothing was yet determined; and the same Ambassadors were deputed to the King as had conferred with him at Lyfimachia, namely, Sulpicius, Villius, and Ælius.

A. R. 559.
Ant. C.
193.

They were scarce set out, when Carthaginian Ambassadors arrived at Rome, and informed the Senate that Antiochus, at Hannibal's instigation, was certainly making preparations for a war. This news gave the Romans some disquiet, and made them apprehend, that the Carthaginians also, allured by the example of their principal citizen, might resume arms. Hannibal, as has been said already, had retired to Antiochus. That Prince received him with abundance of kindness and distinction, expressed all possible esteem for him, and did him all manner of honours as a Captain of singular merit, who by his counsels, and reputation only, might be of great service to him in the design he meditated. Hannibal's opinion then, in which he always persisted, was, "that it was necessary to carry the war into Italy. That by that means the enemy's country would furnish them with troops and provisions. That if that country was left in peace, and the Romans suffered to make war abroad, there was no State, nor King, capable of withstanding them. In a word, that Rome could only be conquered in Rome itself." He asked only an hundred galleys, ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse. He declared, "that with this fleet he would first go to Africa, where he was in hopes of engaging the Carthaginians to join him; and that if he did not succeed, he would go directly to Italy, where he should find means to give the Romans employment enough. That it was necessary,

Liv.
xxxiv. 60.

A. R. 559.
Ant. C.
193.

necessary, that the King should go to Europe with the rest of his troops, and that he should stop in some part of Greece, without going thither yet, and always keeping himself in a readiness to go, thereby to give the Romans continual alarms." The King relished this project extremely at first; and it was indisputably the best choice he could make.

Liv.
xxxiv.
61.

Hannibal believed it necessary to prejudice and prepare the friends he had at Carthage, in order to make them the readier to come into his views. Besides that letters are little safe, they are not sufficiently explanatory, nor do not enter enough into particulars. He therefore sent a trusty person, and gave him his instructions. His name was Ariston, a native of Tyre. He was no sooner arrived at Carthage, than the reason of his coming was suspected. Spies were placed upon him, he was watched, and at last measures were taken to seize him. But he prevented them, and escaped in the night, after having caused to be affixed over the very chair, where the magistrate sat every day, a writing in which were these words in large characters: THE ORDERS WITH WHICH ARISTON WAS CHARGED, WERE NOT TO APPLY TO ANY CITIZEN IN PARTICULAR, BUT TO THE SENATORS IN GENERAL. The Senate judged it proper to send Ambassadors to Rome, to inform the Consuls and Senate, of what had passed on this occasion, and at the same time to complain of the injuries the Commonwealth of Carthage had received from Masinissa.

Ibid. 62.

That Prince had also sent Ambassadors to Rome. Accordingly the Senate, after having heard the reasons of both parties, nominated deputies, at the head of whom was Scipio Africanus, to terminate the affair upon the spot. The question was concerning a country called Emporia, situated round the smaller Syrtis. That country was extremely fertile. The city of Leptis alone paid the Carthaginians a talent (a thousand crowns) as a tribute daily. The deputies returned without having decided any thing, undoubtedly considering, that neutrality as more suitable to the

the present situation of affairs, than a determination, which could not but have discontented one side or the other. Wherefore then did the Senate make themselves arbitrators of the difference, and why did they assume the quality of judges? Such a policy does them no honour. That illustrious body began to adhere with little sincerity to the rules of strict justice, when contrary to the interest of the State, and it became a custom with them not to be so scrupulous in that point, as they had been in earlier times.

C. Cornelius Cethegus, one of the two Censors, Liv. xxxv, closed the Lustrum. The number of the citizens 9. were found to amount to an hundred, or more probably to two hundred and forty-three thousand seven hundred and four.

This same year the ardour of the candidates for attaining the Consulship was greater and more excessive than ever. The most distinguished and most powerful persons of the two orders stood for it. But those who drew upon themselves the most attention of the citizens, where L. Quintius Flamininus, who had commanded the fleet in Greece, and P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica the son of Cneus, who had done such great actions in Spain. They were both Patricians by birth. What divided the suffrages most, was the credit and favour of their * brothers, (*fratres*) the two greatest Generals of their time. Scipio Africanus had acquired a more shining degree of glory, but for that reason more exposed to envy; the reputation of Quintius was more recent, and he had triumphed this year. † To which we may add, that the first had always been in the sight of the citizens during ten years, which familiarity usually lessens the consideration people have for great men, as Cicero observes in his ora-

* Scipio was only cousin-german to Scipio Nasica the candidate. Cousin-germans were called in Latin, *Fratres Patruales*, and own brothers, *Fratres Germani*.

† *Ista nostra assiduitas, servi, nescis quantum interdum afferat hominibus fastidii, quantum satietatis—Utrique nostrum desiderium nihil obfuisse.* Pro Mur. 21.

A. R. 559.
Ant. C.
193.

tion for Muræna. Besides which, since his having conquered Hannibal, the People had conferred a second Consulship, and the Censorship, upon him. A last reason, which however Livy passes over in silence, might have greatly alienated the Plebeians against him, was the new custom introduced in his second Consulship, and authorized by him, of giving distinguished places to the Senators in the shews. The favour, and credit of Quintius had still the force of novelty; time, to use the expression, not having faded its bloom and lustre. Since his triumph he had neither asked any thing, nor received any reward. He observed to the People that he solicited, not for a cousin, but a brother, who had been Lieutenant and second in the war so gloriously terminated, and who had acted against the enemies of the Commonwealth by sea, and at the same time that he on his side had acted against them by land. For these reasons the preference was given to an unworthy person, as will appear in the sequel, over a competitor, who was presented by Scipio Africanus his cousin-german, and by the whole family of the Scipios, in an assembly held by a Consul of the Cornelian house, of which the Scipios were a branch; and who besides had the glorious recommendation of the whole Senate, who in appointing him to receive the mother of the Gods into the city, had declared him the most worthy man of the Commonwealth. Scipio Africanus could not even obtain the office of Plebeian Consul for C. Lælius, whom he also supported with his recommendation. Quintius had Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus for colleague.

S E C T. III.

The Ætolians send Ambassadors to Nabis, Philip, and Antiochus, to induce them to take arms against the Romans. Nabis begins the war. Roman Ambassadors to Antiochus. Conversation between Scipio and Hannibal. Interview of Villius with the King, and then with his minister. Antiochus holds a great council upon the war with the Romans. Hannibal enters into an ecclaircissement with Antiochus, and is favourably heard. Return of the Ambassadors to Rome. Deputies sent into Greece. Expedition of Philopæmen against Nabis. Thoas is sent by the Ætolians to Antiochus, and presses him to come to Greece. Quintius undeceives the Magnesians; they continue more attached than ever to the Romans. General assembly of the Ætolians, in which, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Quintius, Antiochus is called in to deliver Greece. Perfidious enterprize of the Ætolians against three cities. Death of the tyrant Nabis. Antiochus meditates going to Greece. Thoas makes him conceive jealousy of Hannibal. Antiochus goes to Europe. Speech of that Prince in the assembly of the Ætolians. He is declared Generalissimo. He makes an ineffectual attempt upon Chalcis. Assembly of the Achæans. Speech of Antiochus's Ambassadors. Speech of the Ambassadors of the Ætolians. Quintius's answer. The Achæans declare against Antiochus. That Prince makes himself master of Chalcis and of all Eubœa.

ROME at that time had no greater enemies than the Ætolians. Thoas, who was then their supreme magistrate, incessantly animated them, by representing with heat and passion the contempt the Romans had conceived for them, since the victory gained over Philip, in which the Ætolians had however had a great share. His remonstrances had the desired effect. In a general assembly held at Naupactus, Damocritus was deputed to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Di-cæarchus

A. R. 559.

Ant. C.

193.

Liv. XXXV.

12.

A. R. 559. cæarchus Thoas's brother to Antiochus, with parti-
 Ant. C. cular instructions to each of those Princes, but all
 193. tending to the same end, that is to engage them all,
 though by different motives, to declare against the
 Romans.

The first represented to the tyrant of Sparta, " that the Romans had entirely maimed his power by depriving him of the maritime cities, as it was from them he had his ships, troops, and seamen. That shut up in a manner within his walls, he had the grief to see the Achæans reign throughout Peloponnesus. That he would never have such an occasion as offered at present for recovering his former power. That the Romans had no army in Greece ; that he might easily seize Gythium, which was very commodious ; and that the taking of such a city as that would not seem an occasion of sufficient importance for transporting the Roman legions into Greece."

Nicander had still stronger motives for animating Philip, who had been reduced from a much more exalted state, and from whom more had been taken than from the tyrant. " Besides this he enlarged upon the antient glory of the Kings of Macedonia, and the Universe conquered by their arms. He added, that there was no risque in the choice he proposed to him. That he did not ask him to declare himself before Antiochus was arrived in Greece with his army. " And if you alone, continued he, without the aid of " Antiochus, have with your own forces sustained war " against the Romans and Ætolians united together, " how will the Romans resist you now, when you have " Antiochus and the Ætolians for allies ?" He did not forget the circumstance of Hannibal, the native enemy of the Romans, and who had killed them more Generals and soldiers than they now had left."

Dicæarchus moved Antiochus another way. " He above all insinuated, that in the war against Philip the Romans had the advantage of the defeat of that Prince, but that the honour of the victory had been entirely due to the Ætolians. That they alone had opened them

them an entrance into Greece, and that they had enabled them to defeat the enemy by lending them their forces. He made a long enumeration of the infantry and cavalry with which they should supply him, as well as of the fortresses and sea-ports of which they were masters. As to Philip and Nabis, who were not present to gainsay him, he declared as boldly as if he had been commissioned by them, that they were resolved to join him, and to take the first occasion that should offer to recover what they had lost in the preceding war."

A. R. 559.
Ant. C.
193.

Such were the endeavours of the Ætolians, to excite enemies on all sides against Rome. The two Kings however did not proceed to do any thing at that time, and he who afterwards entered into their party determined to do so slowly.

As to Nabis, he sent immediately to all the maritime places, to induce them to revolt. He brought over many of the principal persons by presents, and secretly made away with those whom he found inflexibly attached to the Romans. Quintius, on leaving Greece, had directed the Achæans to be upon their guard for the defence of the maritime cities. They immediately sent deputies to the tyrant, to put him in mind of the treaty, which he had made with the Romans, and to exhort him not to break a peace, he had demanded and desired with so much ardour. At the same time they sent aid to Gythium, which the tyrant had already besieged, and Ambassadors to Rome to give an account of all that passed.

Liv. xxxv.
13.

Antiochus did not declare yet, but he took measures secretly for the great design he meditated. I have said before that the Romans had sent Sulpicius, Ælius, and Villius, as Ambassadors to that Prince. They were ordered to go first to Eumenes. Accordingly they repaired to Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. They found him extremely desirous, that war should be declared against Antiochus, because concluding his overthrow inevitable, he was in hopes of deriving great advantages from it.

Sulpi-

A.R. 559.
Ant. C.
193. Sulpicius, being left sick at Pergamus, Villius, who had been informed, that Antiochus was carrying on a war in Pisidia, repaired to Ephesus, where he found Hannibal. He had many conversations with him, in which he endeavoured, but ineffectually, to persuade him, that he had nothing to fear from the Romans. But he succeeded better, in case that was his design; in rendering him suspected to the King. In making the Carthaginian frequent visits, and professing great amity for him, he gave Antiochus a distrust of him, as we shall soon have occasion to observe.

Liv. xxxv.
13. Livy cites historians, who related, that Scipio Africanus was one of these Ambassadors, and that it was he, who had the conversations with Hannibal, of which I have just spoke. He gives us one of them, after these authors, circumstantially enough, and tells us, "that Scipio having asked Hannibal, whom he judged, that they ought justly to consider as the greatest of Generals," the Carthaginian replied, "Alexander the Great; because with a small number of Macedonians he had defeated armies of innumerable troops, and had led his victorious soldiers to the extremities of the Universe with as much ease, as if he had only travelled for his pleasure." "And whom," continued Scipio, "do you rank next Alexander?" "Pyrrhus," said Hannibal. "It was he, who first taught the art of incamping and choosing posts well, and of placing bodies of troops in such a manner as to be always capable of sustaining each other on occasion. Besides which, no man ever had so much address as that Prince in conciliating People to his interests; which talent he possessed in so high a degree, that entirely stranger as he was, the states of Italy preferred his government to that of the Romans, who had so long held the first rank in their country." "Lastly," resumed Scipio, "I desire to know to whom you give the third place. Why that," replied Hannibal, "I think I may venture to give myself." "Yourself," said Scipio smiling! "And

“ And what would you have said if you had conquered me ?” “ In that case,” said Hannibal, “ I should boldly have placed myself above Alexander and Pyrrhus, and all the great captains of whom we have any knowledge.” * Scipio was struck with this subtle answer, which conveyed a refined praise he did not expect. For Hannibal seemed in it to give him the preference to all others, and to leave him apart as a General, with whom none were comparable. Livy does not give us this conversation as certain ; and there are reasons to suspect it.

A.R. 559.
Ant. C.
193.

Villius went from Ephesus to Apamea, whither Antiochus repaired after having terminated the war with the Pisidians. Their interview passed in disputes little different from those which the King’s Ambassadors had before with Quintius at Rome. These conferences were interrupted by the news that Prince received at this time of his eldest son’s death, who was universally regretted. Villius, to avoid opportunity at a time of mourning and sadness, returned to Pergamus, where he found Sulpicius perfectly recovered. The King sent for them soon after. They had a conference with his minister, which terminated in reciprocal complaints, after which they returned to Rome, without having concluded any thing.

Liv. xxxv.
15—17.

As soon as they were gone, Antiochus held a great council upon the present affairs, in which they emulated each other in exclaiming against the Romans, knowing That to be a certain means for making their court to the Prince. “ Some enlarged upon the haughtiness of their demands, and thought it strange, that they should presume to impose laws upon the greatest King of Asia, as if they had to do with a conquered Nabis : nay, they had treated the latter with more favour, having left him master and sovereign in Lacedæmon his country, whilst they seemed to think it wrong that Smyrna and Lampsacus should be in the

Liv. ibid.
17, 18.

* Et perplexum Punico astu responsum & improvisum assentationis genus Scipionem movisse, quod egregie se imperatorem velat inestimabilem secrevisset.

A. R. 559.
Ant. C.
193.

possession of Antiochus. Others affirmed, that those cities were of too small importance for so great a Monarch, and were not worth his taking arms for their preservation : but that injustice always covered its ambitious pretensions at first with simple and modest demands, which it soon carried into the greatest excesses." Alexander of Acarnania, whom the hope of a better fortune had induced to quit the court of Philip after the losses of that Prince, to go to that of Antiochus, over whom he had gained an entire ascendant, was of this council. As if the question had been to deliberate not whether war was to be made or not, but where and how it was to be made, " he assured the King of certain victory if he went to Europe, and established himself in some part of Greece. He said with an air of assurance that the Ætolians, who possessed the centre of it, would declare the first against the Romans. That at the two extremities, Nabis, on one side, would make all Peloponnesus take arms against them; and on the other, that Philip still more discontented, and like those animals which chains render more furious, would not fail to arm also, on the first signal of war. That there was no time to lose, and that the decisive point was to seize advantageous posts, and to secure allies. He added, that it was necessary to send Hannibal forthwith to Carthage, in order to embarrass and employ the Romans."

Liv. xxxv.
19.

Hannibal, whom his conversations with Villius had rendered suspected to the King, was not called to this council. He had before perceived on many other occasions, that the King was grown very cool in respect to him, and did not express the same confidence in him. He came to an explanation with him, in which he freely spoke his thoughts. Mentioning the earliest years of his youth, when he had sworn eternal enmity to the Romans upon the altars of the Gods : " It is " that oath," said he, " that hatred, that hath kept " me in arms during thirty-six years, that hath driven " me out of my country in time of peace, and hath " obliged

“ obliged me to seek an asylum in your dominions. A. R. 559.
 “ If you frustrate my hopes, through the same hatred Ant. C.
 “ which will never expire but with my life, I will go 193.
 “ wherever there are forces and arms to excite enemies
 “ against the Romans. For this reason I advise such
 “ of your friends, who make their court to you at
 “ my expence, to invent some other subject for their
 “ calumnies. I hate the Romans, and am hated by
 “ them. I call the manes of my father Amilcar and
 “ the Gods to witness this. As long as you intend
 “ to make war with them, you may place Hannibal
 “ in the number and at the head of your friends. If
 “ any reason should incline you to peace, you must take
 “ the counsel of others, not of me.” Antiochus,
 moved with this discourse, seemed to restore Hannibal
 to all his friendship and confidence.

L. QUINTIUS.

A. R. 560.

CN. DOMITIUS.

Ant. C.

192.

The ambassadors that had been sent to the King Liv. xxxv.
 being returned to Rome, it was evident from their re- 20.
 port of their commission, that a war with Antiochus
 was to be expected : but they did not judge that there
 was yet sufficient reason to arm against him. The
 case was not the same in respect to Nabis the tyrant of
 Sparta, who had openly broken the treaty, and who
 was actually attacking all the maritime cities of Laco-
 nia. The Prætor Atilius was sent to Greece with a
 fleet to defend the allies.

As Antiochus had not yet declared himself, the two Ibid.
 Consuls had orders to repair to their provinces and
 went into the country of the Boii, which they sepa-
 rately ravaged. The Prætors had also good success
 in Spain.

The wars which then employed the arms of the Ibid. 23.
 Commonwealth gave the Senators less disquiet, than
 that which they saw ready to break out on the side of
 Antiochus. Upon the different rumours that spread
 concerning his designs, they took different precautions

A. R. 560. for the security of the Commonwealth wherever he
 Ant. C. might attack it. They judged it also necessary to send
 192. four deputies into Greece, to observe the state of af-
 fairs upon the spot, to take care of the interests of the
 allies, and to continue them in their amity and at-
 tachment for the Romans. T. Quintius was of this
 number, and at the head of the rest.

Liv. xxxv. Nabis in the mean time attacked Gythium with all
 25—30. his forces, and, enraged against the Achæans for hav-
 Plut. in ing sent the besieged aid, he ravaged their country to
 Philop. be revenged of them. At that time the famous Philo-
 363, 564. pæmen was their General, of whom I have spoke
 more at large in the Antient History. They sent him
 against Nabis, whom he at first attacked with his fleet :
 but as he had little experience in naval affairs, he was
 defeated. He soon had his revenge by land, and
 gained a victory over Nabis, which however did not
 prevent him from making himself master of Gythium.
 Philopæmen, with design to force Nabis to quit his
 enterprize against Gythium, which he did not know
 the tyrant had taken already, advanced towards Sparta
 itself, as to besiege it. Nabis immediately flew to the
 aid of his country. A second battle much more bloody
 than the former was fought ; and so great a number
 of the Lacedæmonians were either killed or taken in
 it, that the tyrant had scarce the fourth part of his army
 left. He had retired during the battle into the city.
 Philopæmen, seeing that he shut himself up in it,
 and not believing himself in a condition to besiege it
 in form, passed the thirty following days in ravaging the
 lands of Laconia. Having thus reduced him to the
 last extremities, he retired home with great glory, and
 in a manner triumphant.

During this expedition of the Achæans against Na-
 bis, the Ætolians had sent an embassy to Antiochus,
 to exhort him to enter Greece. Thoas the principal
 of those deputies represented to him, “ that the Ro-
 mans, having withdrawn their army from Greece, had
 left it without defence : that he could not have a
 more favourable occasion for seizing it : that he would
 find

find every thing disposed to receive him : and that he had only to shew himself to make himself master of the country." This soothing picture, which they gave him of the affairs of Greece, struck him extremely, and scarce left him the least doubt in respect to the resolution he should take.

A. R. 560.
Ant. C.
192.

Quintius, in passing through Greece with the other deputies, had found all the states in a very good disposition except the Magnesians, who had been alienated from the Romans by the spreading of a report, that they were determined to deliver up the city of Demetrias to Philip, which belonged to the Magnesians. Quintius had occasion for all his eloquence and all his address to remove the false prejudices they had conceived upon that head ; and he happily succeeded. Eurylochus, the author of these seditious reports, not believing himself safe in the country, took refuge amongst the Ætolians.

Liv. xxxv.
31, 32.

Thoas, who held the first rank in Ætolia, and who had been sent to Antiochus, was returned, and had brought Menippus with him, whom the King had sent as his Ambassador to the Ætolians. Before the general assembly was called, those two persons had taken pains in concert to prepare and prejudice the People, by enlarging emphatically upon the King's armies by sea and land, his numerous troops of infantry and cavalry, the elephants which he had sent for from India, and especially (which was a powerful motive with the multitude) the immense sums of gold, which the King would bring along with him, sufficient to buy even the Romans themselves.

Ibid. 33.

Quintius was punctually informed of all that was said and passed in Ætolia. Though every thing seemed desperate on that side, however, that he might have nothing to reproach himself, and to place the Ætolians still more in the wrong, he judged it proper to send some deputies from the Allies to the assembly, to put the Ætolians in mind of their alliance with the Romans, and to be on the spot freely to answer what the Ambassador of Antiochus might advance.

A. R. 560. He charged the Athenians with this commission,
 Ant. C. 192. whom the dignity of their city and their antient amity
 with the Ætolians qualified better than any of the other
 states.

Thoas opened the assembly with informing it that there was an Ambassador arrived from King Antiochus. He was made to enter. He began with saying, "that it might justly have been desired by the people of Greece and Asia, that Antiochus had interfered sooner in their affairs, and whilst Philip's power still subsisted: that by that means each state had retained its rights, and the whole had not fallen under the Roman yoke. But at present, said he, if you put the designs you have formed in execution, Antiochus, with the assistance of the Gods, will be able to reinstate the affairs of Greece in their antient splendor, in whatever bad situation they are at present."

The Athenians, who had audience next, "without saying a word of the King, confined themselves to putting the Ætolians in mind of their alliance with the Romans, and of the services Quintius had rendered all Greece, * conjuring them not to precipitate any thing in an affair of such importance as that actually in question. That bold resolutions, taken with heat and vivacity, might at first sight have an agreeable aspect: that the difficulties of them would afterwards be seen in the execution, and that they seldom were happy in the event. That the Roman Ambassadors, and Quintius amongst them, were not far off. That whilst every thing remained undecided, it seemed more wise to try the method of a conference with ancient allies, in order to have what they conceived their due restored, than precipitately to involve Europe and Asia in a war, which could not but have fatal consequences."

The multitude, always fond of novelty, were entirely for Antiochus, and were even against admitting

* Ne temerè eam (Græciam) celeritate nimia consiliorum everterent. Consilia calida, & audacia prima specie læta, tractatu dura, eventu tristia esse.

the Romans into the assembly. The oldest and wisest had occasion for their whole credit to prevail, that they might be asked to be present in it. Quintius repaired thither, less with the hope of making impressions upon people so much prejudiced, than to convince all the world, that the Ætolians were the sole authors of the war upon the point of breaking out, and that the Romans only engaged in it against their will, and reduced by necessity. “ He began by putting them in mind of the times when the Ætolians entered into an alliance with the Romans; slightly touched the different occasions in which they failed in their engagements; and, after having said something of what actually was the reason or pretext for disputes, he confined himself to observing, that if they conceived they had any just matter of complaint, it seemed much more reasonable for them to make their remonstrances to the Senate, who were always ready to hear them, than out of wantonness and caprice to stir up a war between the Romans and Antiochus, which would involve the Universe, and infallibly occasion the ruin of those who should have promoted it.”

A. R. 560.
Ant. C.
192.

The event proved the truth of his representations, but they were ineffectual at that time. Thoas, and those of his faction, were heard favourably, and prevailed without delay, and even in the presence of the Romans, that Antiochus should be called in by a decree to deliver Greece, and to be the arbiter between the Ætolians and the Romans. Upon Quintius's demanding a copy of this decree, Damocritus, who was then magistrate, forgot himself so far as to answer a man of so estimable a character with insolence, “ that he had many other affairs upon his hands at present, and that in a short time he should go in person to carry that decree to Italy, and to incamp upon the banks of the Tiber.” So great a degree of infatuation and phrenzy had then seized the whole nation, and even the principal magistrates of

A. R. 560. the Ætolians ! Quintius and the other Ambassadors
 Ant. C. returned to Corinth.

192.
 Liv. xxxv. The Ætolians, till Antiochus arrived, and at the
 34 & 37. same time not to seem to rely solely upon his aid, took
 all possible measures on their side to change the present
 situation of Greece. Every body agreed, that in each state
 the principal persons, and particularly the worthiest men,
 were in the interest of the Romans, and thought themselves
 happy in being their allies ; but that the multitude, and those
 who were not satisfied with their present condition, were
 fond of a change. The Ætolians therefore, despairing of
 success by the method of persuasion, resolved to have recourse
 to stratagem and surprize ; and they were so bold in one
 and the same day to form three astonishing designs : these
 were to seize Demetrias, Chalcis, and Sparta, at once.
 Three of the principal citizens were severally appointed
 to execute these expeditions.

Diocles set out for Demetrias, and by the assistance of
 Eurylochus's faction, who was then an exile, and at that
 time appeared at the head of the troops Diocles had brought
 with him, he made himself master of the place.

Thoas had not the same success at Chalcis. Those who
 were at the head of the Roman party, and at the same time
 of the city, having apprehended the design of the Ætolians,
 kept themselves so well upon their guard, that it was
 impossible to surprize them.

Ibid. 35. The attempt against Sparta was much more
 difficult. The question was to surprize the most suspicious
 of all mankind. Nabis had long solicited aid from the
 Ætolians. Alexamenes was placed at the head of a thousand
 foot. To these thirty horse were added, the flower of the
 youth, whom the magistrates commanded punctually to obey
 the orders of their leader, whatsoever they might be. Alexamenes
 was received by the tyrant with great joy. Some days after,
 going abroad together into the country, the horse, in consequence
 of the orders they had received, fell

fell upon Nabis, and killed him. Thus perished Nabis by treachery. Providence often makes use of one bad man to punish another. The crime of Alexamenos did not long pass unpunished. His first care was to regain the city immediately, in order to seize the palace, and the riches of the tyrant. Whilst himself and his troops were solely employed in this, he was killed himself by the citizens, who in the tumult had taken arms for their own defence.

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Ant. C.
192.

Whilst the Ætolians were making all these motions, Antiochus was preparing to enter Greece. He was at a loss how to behave in respect to Hannibal. After the eclairessment, of which we have spoke, which had, as it seems, stifled all his suspicions, he had determined to give him the command of part of his fleet to go to Africa, and raise troops there. But what havock does not flattery make in the courts and minds of Princes ! The Ætolian Thoas used this method for removing Hannibal, whose credit with the King gave him umbrage. First, he highly extolled the power of the Ætolians, who had made themselves masters of Demetrias ; and after having dazzled and deceived many of the Greeks by the hyperbolical accounts he had given of the forces of Antiochus, he used the same artifice and the same falsity to swell the hopes and courage of the King. He gave him to understand that he was called in by all the states, and that they should no sooner perceive his fleet at sea, than they would all run with ardour to receive him.

Liv. xxxv.
42, 43.

He afterwards undertook to dissuade that Prince from his design of sending Hannibal to Africa, by representing to him, “ that it was not consistent with prudence to divide his fleet, and still less to give the command of it to Hannibal. That he was an exile and a Carthaginian, to whom his fortune and genius might suggest a thousand different projects in a day. That besides, the very reputation itself which he had acquired in war, was too great for a meer lieutenant. That the King himself ought to appear sole Chief, to be General, and attract the eyes and attention of the

whole

A. R. 560. whole army upon himself alone : whereas, if Hannibal was employed, that stranger only would have the glory of every good success." * There are no spirits, says Livy, more susceptible of jealousy, than those who have not a greatness of soul equal to their birth and degree : because in that case all merit becomes odious to them, as something foreign, in which they have no share. And this appeared evidently on the present occasion. This Prince had been taken by his blind side. A sentiment of jealousy, which is the sign and defect of little minds, extinguished all other thoughts and reflexions in him. He no longer set any value upon, or made any use of, Hannibal. The event fully avenged the latter, and demonstrated what a misfortune it is for a Prince to open his heart to the mean suggestions of envy, and his ears to the poisoned discourse of flatterers.

Liv. xxxv. 43. Antiochus at length embarked with forty decked ships, sixty not decked, and two hundred other vessels laden with all kinds of provisions and machines of war. He arrived first at Demetrias, where he landed ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants. These forces would hardly have sufficed, only to seize a defenceless country, and were far from being capable of sustaining the weight of the Roman power. As soon as the Ætolians were informed of the arrival of Antiochus, they assembled their whole nation, and passed a decree by which they invited him to repair to their assembly. Upon receiving it, the King went to Lamia, where it was held. He was received there by an infinite multitude of people, who filled the air with acclamations, clapped their hands, and gave themselves up to all the transports that usually express extraordinary joy.

Ibid. 44. When he was introduced into the assembly not without difficulty, the throng being so great, " he began by excusing himself for coming with fewer

* Nulla ingenia tam prona ad invidiam sunt, quam eorum, qui genus & fortunam suam animis non æquant : quia virtutem, & (or rather ut) bonum alienum oderunt.

troops than had been expected, intimating that such ardour was a proof of his zeal for their interests, as at the first signal they had given him, he had set out, notwithstanding the bad season, and without waiting till all things were in readiness: but that their expectation should soon be answered. That as soon as the season should be proper for navigating, they should see Greece covered with arms, men, horses, and all the sea-coasts blocked up with galleys. That he would spare neither expence, pains, nor danger, really to deliver Greece, and for giving the Ætolians the first rank in it. That with his numerous armies, convoys of all sorts would arrive from Asia: that all they had to do was to supply his army at present with whatever was necessary." * This discourse was more proper to dazzle the audience by pompous professions, than to persuade them with an air of truth. After having spoke thus the King withdrew.

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Ant. C.
192.

Such a beginning could not please much; and accordingly the wisest saw plainly, that Antiochus, instead of an effective and present aid as he had promised, gave them almost only very uncertain words, and distant and still more doubtful hopes. Sentiments in consequence were divided. Pheneas, who was then Prætor, was for having them only take Antiochus for mediator and arbitrator between them and the Romans, and not as Chief of the war: but Thoas carried the suffrages, and caused him to be declared Generalissimo. Thirty of the principal persons of the State were given him as a council, to deliberate with them, when he should judge it expedient.

Liv. xxxv.
45.

The first matter consulted between the King and the Ætolians, was to know by what expedition it was necessary to begin. It was judged proper that a new attempt should be made upon Chalcis, and it was believed that to reduce that place required no great preparation nor efforts, and that it sufficed to use expedi-

Ibid. 46,
47.

* Plus in oratione dignitati, quam, fidei, erat. TACIT. Annal. l. 11.

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192.

tion. They therefore repaired thither without loss of time, but not with many troops. Was the King ignorant, that in war the first successes determine the repute of arms for the sequel? When they were near the city, he let the principal persons of the Ætolians confer with the magistrates of Chalcis, who came out to meet them.

“ The Ætolians warmly exhorted them to enter into an alliance with Antiochus, but without renouncing that of the Romans. They said that Prince was come to Greece not to make war in it, but actually to deliver it, and not in mere words, as the Romans had done. That nothing could be more for the interest of the States of Greece, than to be in alliance at the same time with the two powers, because the one would always defend them against the other, and in consequence mutually keep each other in awe. That they might see, in case they did not take this resolution, to what they exposed themselves, the aid of the Romans being remote, and the King present and at their gates.”

Mission, one of the principal persons of Chalcis, answered: “ That he could not conjecture for the deliverance of whom Antiochus had quitted his kingdom, and had come to Greece. That he knew no city, that had received a Roman garrison, that paid any tribute to Rome, or complained of being oppressed. That as for the Chalcidians, they had no occasion for a deliverer, because they were free; nor for any defender, as they lived at peace under the protection of the Romans. That they refused neither the amity of the King nor of the Ætolians: but that that Prince and they could not give them a greater proof of their amity than to quit their isle, and retire. That they were fully determined, not only not to receive them into their city, but not to make any alliance with them except in concert with the Romans.”

When this answer was reported to the King, who had remained on the shore near his ships, he chose to return for the present to Demetrias, not having

brought a sufficient number of troops with him to attack the place by force. So weak and ill-concerted a step did him no honour, and was no good omen for the future.

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192.

They then turned a different way, and endeavours were used to bring over some of the States of Greece, and especially the Achæans. The latter gave the Ambassadors of Antiochus and the Ætolians audience at Æge, where their assembly was held in the presence of Quintius, Ambassador from the Romans.

Liv. xxxv.
48.

The Ambassador of Antiochus spoke first. * He was a vain man, as those generally are who live in the courts of Princes, and subsist by their favour; who fancied himself a fine speaker, and assumed an emphatical and dictatorial tone. He said, "That there was an innumerable body of cavalry passing the Hellespont to enter Europe, consisting partly of cuirassiers, and partly of archers, who from their horses, and even flying, discharged their darts turning about. To this cavalry, which alone was capable of overwhelming all the forces of Europe joined together, he added an infantry still more numerous and formidable: Dahæ, Medes, Elymæans and Cadusians, names unknown and terrible. He affirmed, that there were not ports in Greece capable of containing his fleet, of which the right wing was composed of Tyrians and Sidonians, and the left of Aradians and the Sidetæ of Pamphylia, nations incontestably the most skilful and expert of all others in naval affairs. That it was to no purpose to mention the immense sums the King was capable of furnishing for this war; all the world knowing that the kingdoms of Asia had always abounded in gold. That the other preparations of war might be judged of in the same proportion. That consequently the Romans would not now have to do with a Philip, or an Hannibal, the latter a private citizen of Carthage, the other confined within the narrow

Ibid.

* Is, ut plerique quos opes regiæ alunt, vaniloquus, maria, terraque inani sonitu verborum compleverat. Liv.

A. R. 560. bounds of his kingdom of Macedonia ; but with the
 Ant. C. potent monarch of all Asia, and part of Europe.
 192. That however, though he was come from the extre-
 mities of the east for the deliverance of Greece, he
 required nothing of the Achæans contrary to the
 faith they believed they owed the Romans, their prior
 friends and allies. That he did not ask them to join
 their arms with his, but solely that they should re-
 main neuter, without declaring for either one side or
 the other."

Liv. xxxv. Archidamus, Ambassador from the Ætolians, se-
 48. conded this discourse, " adding, that the safest and
 most prudent choice the Achæans could take, was to
 continue mere spectators of the war, and to wait the
 event in peace, without having any share in it, and
 without running any risque." Then growing warm
 by degrees, he vented reproaches and injurious terms
 against the Romans in general, and personally against
 Quintius. " He treated them as ingrates, who had
 forgot that they were indebted to the courage of the
 Ætolians, not only for the victory gained over Philip,
 but for the safety of their army and General. For in
 a word, what function of a General had Quintius dis-
 charged in the battle ? That he had seen him em-
 ployed in this battle only in consulting the auspices,
 sacrificing victims, and making vows, as if he acted
 in quality of an augur and priest ; whilst himself had
 exposed his person and life to the darts of the enemy
 to defend and preserve him."

Ibid. 49. Quintius replied to this : " That he well perceived,
 whom Archidamus had sought to please by his dis-
 course. That convinced as he was of the perfect
 knowledge which the Achæans had of the character
 of the Ætolians, who made all their bravery consist in
 words and not in actions, he had been at no pain
 about their esteem, but had thought only of being of
 some weight with the King's Ambassadors, and by
 their means with the King himself : that if any could
 have been ignorant of the motives which had formed
 the alliance between Antiochus and the Ætolians, the
 dis-

discourse of the Ambassador's evidently shewed them, that nothing had passed from both but lies and boasts. That by making a parade of forces which they had not, they mutually deceived and flushed each other with false promises and empty hopes : the Ætolians on one side boldly advancing, as you have just heard, that they and they alone defeated Philip, and preserved the Romans, and that they should draw over all the States of Greece to their party ; and the King, on the other, affirming that he was going to make innumerable armies of horse and foot march, and to cover the sea with his fleets." " This," says Quintius, " puts me in mind of an entertainment given me by " a friend at Chalcis, who was a very polite man, " and one that well knew how to make his guests " welcome. Surprized at the quantity and variety " of the dishes that were served up, we asked him, " where he could possibly get so much game in the " month of June ? This person, who was not vain- " glorious like these people, informed us laughing, " that in reality all this seeming game was only pork " differently seasoned, and served with different sauces. " The thing is the same with respect to the King's " troops, of which so much has been boasted, and whose " numbers have been magnified by great names. Da- " hæ, Medes, Cadusians, and Elymæans, all these " are but one and the same people, that is to say, Sy- " rians ; and besides a nation of slaves, rather than sol- " diers, so base and servile are their souls. Can I " not represent to you, Achæans, all the motions and " expeditions of this great King, who now repairs to " the assembly of the Ætolians to beg an aid of pro- " visions, and money ; and then presents himself be- " fore Chalcis, from whence he is obliged shamefully " to retire, after having viewed the port of Aulis and " the Euripus as the whole fruit of this extraordi- " nary expedition ? Antiochus hath injudiciously relied " upon the empty promises of the Ætolians ; and " the latter, in their turn, have suffered themselves " to be dazzled by the boasts of Antiochus and his " ministers.

A. R. 560. “ ministers. This ought to teach you, Achæans;
 Ant. C. “ not to suffer yourselves to be surprized by their ar-
 192. “ tifices, and to confide entirely in the faith of the
 “ Romans, of which you have so often made trial.
 “ I am amazed, that people venture to tell you, that
 “ the best you can do, is to continue neuter. This
 “ is a certain means; but it is to become the prey of
 “ the victor.”

Liv. xxxv. The deliberation of the assembly of the Achæans
 50. was neither long nor doubtful. The result was, that
 war should be declared against Antiochus and the
 Ætolians. According to Quintius's advice, they made
 five hundred men of the auxiliary troops set out im-
 mediately for Chalcis, and as many for the Piræus.

Ibid. 51. Antiochus was informed by his Ambassadors of his
 bad success in the assembly of the Achæans. To
 make himself amends, he made a new attempt
 against Chalcis, and approached it with a much
 greater body of troops than the first time. The fac-
 tion contrary to the Romans prevailed, and the city
 opened its gates to him. The other cities of the
 island soon did the same; and he made himself master of
 all Eubœa (now called Negropont). He conceived
 it a great matter, to have began the first campaign
 by the conquest and reduction of so considerable an
 island. But what conquest is that, where the victor
 has no enemy to oppose him?

T H E

R O M A N H I S T O R Y.

B O O K T H E T W E N T Y - T H I R D.

THIS book contains the space of three years, 561, 562, 563. It contains the war of the Romans with Antiochus, terminated by the conquest of Asia Minor, which acquired L. Scipio the surname of Asiaticus.

S E C T. I.

Religious preparations for the war with Antiochus. Military preparations for the same. Departure of the Consul Acilius for Greece. The Senate's answer to the Ambassadors of Philip, Ptolomy, Masinissa, and the Carthaginians, who came to offer the Romans aid. Antiochus holds a council of war at Demetrias. Fine Speech of Hannibal, which is followed in nothing. Antiochus takes some cities of Thessalia. He marries a young woman of Chalcis, and passes the whole winter in feasting. The Consul Acilius arrives in Greece. Many cities surrender to him. Antiochus, destitute of all aid, retires into the strait of Thermopylæ. Considerable victory gained by the Consul Acilius over King Antiochus in the pass of Thermopylæ. Cato had a great share in this victory. Antiochus retires to Chalcis, and from thence to Ephesus. Cato carries the news of the victory to Rome. Achilius endeavours ineffectually to bring over

the Ætolians by gentle methods. He besieges Heraclea, and takes it after above a month's resistance. Philip besieges the city of Lamia. It surrenders. The taking of Heraclea determines the Ætolians to demand peace. The hard conditions prescribed by the Consul, disgust them. Acilius forms the siege of Naupactus. Quintius saves that city, which was upon the point of being reduced. Ambassadors from Philip to Rome. Hannibal awakens Antiochus from the security in which he continued at Ephesus. Victory at sea gained by Livius, Admiral of the Roman fleet, over that of Antiochus, near the port of Corycus. L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Lælius are elected Consuls.

A. R. 561.
Ant. C.
191.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO.

Liv.
xxxvi. 1.

AS soon as the Consuls had taken possession of their office, the Senate ordered them to sacrifice victims of the great kind in the principal temples, and to implore the Gods to grant the Senate and People of Rome their protection in the new war they were upon the point of undertaking. The auspices declared that the entrails of those victims foretold only happy events, that this war would terminate in victory, and extend the bounds of the empire farther than ever they had been before. The war in consequence was decreed against Antiochus by the Senate and People. The Consuls having drawn lots for their provinces, Greece fell to Acilius, and Italy to Cornelius; and of the Prætors, Hispania Ulterior fell to L. Æmilius Paulus, of whom we shall speak in the sequel with more extent. He commanded therein quality of Proconsul; for which reason Plutarch observes, he had twelve Lictors. Public prayers were decreed during two years: and solemn vows were made to celebrate the great games in honour of Jupiter during ten days, if the event of the war was favourable, and to make offerings in all the temples of the Gods. What a disgrace would so religious, though blind, a paganism be

Plut. in
Paul.
Æmil.

be to such Christian Generals as could be ashamed of piety and religion!

Neither was any thing omitted on the side of human care. The Prætor C. Livius, to whom the command of the fleet had fallen, had orders to go to Greece as soon as possible, with thirty ships, which he kept in readiness, and to unite them with those which he was to receive from Atilius. Six deputies were sent into Africa, three to Carthage, and three to Numidia, to procure corn to be transported into Greece, for which the Roman People were to pay. The same precautions were taken in Sicily and Sardinia. The care and preparations for this war engrossed every body so much, that the Consul P. Cornelius forbade by a decree all Senators and Magistrates of the * second class to remove above one day's journey from Rome. He also at the same time prohibited more than four Senators to be absent from the city at once. The Consul Acilius, to be wanting in nothing to the ceremonies prescribed, applied to the Fæciales; by order of the Senate, to know whether the war was to be declared by word of mouth to Antiochus, or it sufficed to apply to some one of his cities; and whether it was necessary to declare war separately against the Ætolians. The answer was, to the first point, that the thing was indifferent; to the second, that the Ætolians had declared war themselves by the hostilities they had committed.

The Consul Acilius, after having made provision for every thing, and appointed the fifteenth of May for the rendezvous of his troops at Brundisium, set out some days before from Rome.

At the same time, Ambassadors from Philip King of Macedonia, and Ptolomy King of Egypt, arrived at Rome, whither they came to offer the Roman troops money and provisions for the war they were going to begin. Those of Ptolomy brought before-hand a

* The magistrates of the first class were the Censors, Consuls, and Prætors: those of the second, the Ædiles, Questors, and Tribunes.

A. R. 561. thousand pounds of gold in weight, and twenty thousand of silver. Those two Princes were thanked for their generosity and zeal; but their presents were not accepted. And as both offered to enter Ætolia with all their forces, in order to make a diversion in favour of the Commonwealth, the Senate expressed their gratitude to Ptolomy, but declined the offer. As to Philip, his Ambassadors were answered, that the Senate and People of Rome should be obliged to him, if he would second the Consul Acilius well.

Ambassadors also arrived from the Carthaginians, and King Masinissa. The former promised that their State should transport to the Consul's army five hundred thousand bushels of barley, and probably a greater number of bushels of wheat; but that is omitted in the text of Livy. They desired also that half this grain might be sent to Rome, and that the Senate would be pleased to accept of it as a present. They added, that Carthage would fit out a fleet, and man it at their own expence, and would pay down directly all the sums to the Roman People, that they were to discharge at different terms and in many years. The Ambassadors of Masinissa declared, that their master would cause five hundred thousand bushels of wheat to be transported to the army in Greece, with three hundred thousand of barley; and to Rome three hundred thousand bushels of wheat and two hundred thousand of barley; and that he would send five hundred horse and twenty elephants to the Consul Acilius. As to the grain, both were answered, that the Romans would accept of it only upon condition of paying the value. The Carthaginians were thanked for their fleet, but only the ships were accepted, which they were to furnish in virtue of the treaty; and they were told, that only the sums they were to pay would be received, and that as they became due.

Liv. Ant. C. 191. Antiochus in the mean time, after having solicited many cities, either by his envoys, or in person, to enter into alliance with him, repaired to Demetrias, whither he had called a great assembly, to deliberate upon

upon the operations of the campaign, which was upon the point of being opened. Hannibal, who had not been admitted to council during a long time, was called in to this. The first point brought upon the carpet, related to the Thessalians. The question was to know whether gentle means or force should be used for subjeeting them. As opinions were much divided, Hannibal, who was desired to give his, made a speech, by which he led the King, and all who were present in this council, from the occasion of this single point, which was their sole subject, into the general plan of the war.

A. R. 561.
Ant. C.
191.

“ If, since our coming to Greece, (said he) I had been consulted when the question was concerning Eubœa, the Achæans and Bœotia, I should have given you the same counsel concerning those States, which I now do in respect to the Thessalians. This counsel is, that previously to every thing we should spare no pains to bring Philip and the Macedonians into our party upon any terms whatsoever. For, as to the other States, weak as they are in themselves, who doubts, though they should join us, but they would go over again to the Romans, as soon as they see their army in Greece? How much more advantageous therefore is it for us, to engage Philip in our alliance, who having once declared, cannot go back?

Liv.
xxxvi. 1.

“ Besides which, if Philip joins us, will the Romans be able to resist us, whilst we oppose them with the same forces, which gave them the victory over that Prince, I mean the Ætolians and Athamantes, to whose courage, every body knows, they were indebted for all their successes against Philip. That Prince supported the whole weight of the war at that time alone: whereas at present the two greatest Kings of the Universe, with all the forces of Asia and Europe, will act against a single People, who in the time of our fathers were scarce capable of making head against the King of Epirus only: and you know what the power of Pyrrhus was,

A. R. 561. " compared with ours. For I do not mention the
 Ant. C. " various successes of the war I made against them :
 191. " those are not unknown to you.

" But, somebody may say, is there any probability
 " that Philip will enter into our league ? Two things
 " give me reason to hope so. First, our common in-
 " terests, that are the same on both sides, and really
 " inseparable, which is the strongest tie of treaties
 " and alliances : secondly, your discourse, Ætolians,
 " For you are not ignorant, that Thoas your Am-
 " bassador, who is present, has always affirmed as a
 " certain fact to whomsoever would hear him, that
 " Philip was incensed to the highest degree, that the
 " Romans, under the false appearance of a peace,
 " had imposed the yoke of real slavery upon him.

" But if, for reasons unknown to us, he should
 " have changed his sentiments, and we shall not be
 " able to persuade him to join us, at least let us use
 " precautions to prevent him from joining the enemy.
 " Your son Seleucus," said Hannibal, addressing him-
 " to the King, " is at * Lyfimachia : order him to cross
 " Thrace with his troops, and to ravage the frontier
 " of Macedonia. The necessity of defending his own
 " country, will not suffer Philip to march to the aid
 " of the Romans.

" And this, great King, is what I think in respect
 " to Philip. As to what concerns the general plan of
 " the war, you know what have always been my
 " sentiments. If I had been heard at first, the
 " Romans had not now received advice at a great
 " distance of the taking of Chalcis and the fort of the
 " Euripus, but would have seen Tuscany and Liguria
 " in flames, and, which is still more terrible to them
 " than any thing, they would have seen Hannibal in
 " the heart of Italy. I am therefore of opinion, that
 " you should cause all your forces both by sea and
 " land to come hither, with a great number of trans-
 " ports laden with provisions. For, though we are

* A city of the Thracian Chersonesus.

“ here but few in number with respect to the war we
“ are undertaking, we are however too many for the
“ small quantity of provisions the country can supply.
“ When you have united all your forces, you will
“ send part of your fleet to Corcyra (Corfu) in order
“ to prevent the Romans from having a free passage
“ by sea. You will also send another to the coast of
“ Italy next Sardinia and Africa. You will advance
“ yourselves to the sea-coast of Illyricum next Epirus,
“ from whence you will be at hand either to defend
“ Greece, or even to go to Italy, if your affairs make
“ it necessary. These are my thoughts. I am not
“ perhaps very able in any other war; but I must
“ certainly have learnt from my good and bad suc-
“ cesses, in what manner it is necessary to make
“ war with the Romans. I can do no more than
“ give you my counsels, and offer you my services.
“ May the Gods give success to the resolution you
“ shall take, whatsoever it be.”

The assembly could not at that instant but approve Hannibal's opinion; and it was really the only advice that could be given Antiochus in the present situation of affairs. He however followed it in nothing, except making Polyxenidas set out for Asia, to bring his fleet and troops from thence. As to all the rest of Hannibal's plan, the King's courtiers and flatterers dissuaded him against it, as they had done before, by representing to him, “ that he could not fail of victory: that if he followed Hannibal's scheme, that captain would have the whole glory of it, as he had formed it. That it was necessary the King should have the whole glory of successes; and in order to that, that himself should form another plan, without regard to that of the Carthaginian.” What advice was this, to reject a good plan because it was another's! Nero was reproached with this wrong turn of mind,* who, in order to seem not to want counsel, always

* Ne alienæ sententiæ indigens videretur, in diversa ac deteriora transibat. TACIT. Annal. xv. 10.

A. R. 561. chose to act contrary to that given him, at the hazard
 Ant. C. of chusing the worst. And here we see in what man-
 191. ner the best counsels become ineffectual, and the great-
 est empires are ruined. God in order to this hath only
 to suffer bad advice to prevail in the deliberations of
 Princes.

Liv.
 xxxvi.
 8—10.

The King, having joined his troops with those of
 the allies, made himself master of Pheræ, and of some
 other cities in Theffalia. He was obliged to raise the
 siege of Larissa, Bæbius the Roman Prætor having
 sent timely aid to it. Antiochus retired to Demetrias.

Ibid. 11.

From thence he repaired to Chalcis, where he fell
 excessively in love with the daughter of the person, in
 whose house he resided. Though that Prince was al-
 most fifty years old, his passion for that young maid,
 who was not twenty, was so violent, that he resolved
 to marry her. At first he made others speak to her
 father, and then did so himself, of his design to be his
 son-in-law. That private person was not willing to
 contract an alliance so much above his condition. But
 he at last complied with the repeated instances of that
 Prince. Antiochus then celebrated his nuptials with
 all the pomp and profusion, as if he had been in the
 most profound peace. Forgetting the two great en-
 terprizes he had formed, the war against the Romans,
 and the deliverance of Greece, he passed all the rest
 of the winter in diversions and feasting on the occasion
 of his marriage. This taste for pleasures was easily
 transferred from the King to all the officers and the
 whole army, and occasioned military discipline to be
 universally neglected. He did not awake from the
 stupefaction into which this voluptuousness had thrown
 him, till he was informed that the Consul Acilius
 was advancing by long marches against him in Theff-
 alia.

Ibid. 14.

The Consul had passed the sea with twenty thou-
 sand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants.
 He ordered the legionary Tribunes, whose capacity
 he knew, to lead the infantry to Larissa, whilst he
 marched with his cavalry to join Philip, who was

already

already in action; and, after having forced several posts in Thessalia in concert with the Roman Prætor Bæbius, besieged Limnæa. On his arrival the city surrendered. The Consul went afterwards to Larissa, to deliberate there upon the operations of the campaign. During his stay there, Philip subjected all Athamania.

A. R. 561.
Ant. C.
191.

Acilius continued during some days at Larissa, principally to refresh his cavalry after the fatigues of their voyage and long march after their landing. When he found, that this little repose had restored the whole vigour and courage of his army, he began his march. As he advanced, Pharsalus, Scotussa, Pheræ, and many other cities of Thessalia surrendered to him with the garrisons Antiochus had left in them.

Liv.
xxxvi.
14.

During these expeditions, Antiochus was at Chalcis. There, perceiving that of all the advantages he expected from the Greeks, nothing remained except the pleasures he had enjoyed in that city during an whole winter, and the nuptials he had contracted with so little decency; he began to complain on one side of the empty promises of the Ætolians, and the impudent want of faith of Thoas; and on the other to admire Hannibal, not only as a great General, but as a man of consummate wisdom, who foresaw with certainty all that was to happen. And indeed he plainly perceived with his own eyes the accomplishment of all Hannibal had foretold him, when he advised him not to rely either upon the promises of the Ætolians, or upon the fidelity of the States that should submit to him in the absence of the Romans. However, not to ruin a project he had rashly engaged in by voluntary indolence, he sent directions to the Ætolians his allies, to make all their youth take arms. He marched ten thousand foot and five hundred horse to the rendezvous. He found the Ætolians there in less numbers than ever. When he complained to the principal persons of the country, that they were come with only an handful of their people, they replied, that

Ibid. 15.

A. R. 561. that they had used their utmost endeavours to bring
 Ant. C. as many with them as they could : but that they could
 191. not prevail either by their authority or promises upon
 the youth, who had obstinately refused to list.

Upon this, destitute both of the aid of his own subjects who were not in haste to quit Asia, and of that he expected to find in Greece upon the promise of his allies, he retired into the strait of Thermopylæ. This is a chain of mountains which divides Greece in the midst, as the Apennines do Italy from West to East. At the eastern extremity of these mountains is mount Oëta, of which the highest summit was called Callidrome; at the foot of which, in the valley that was bounded by the Maliac gulf, is a way not above sixty paces broad. This is the only route through which an army could pass, supposing it had no obstacle. It is for this reason these defiles are called Pylæ, that is Gates; and by others Thermopylæ, on account of the hot baths which are there. This place is famous for the valour with which the Lacedæmonians defended it under Leonidas, or rather caused themselves to be killed in generously fighting the Persians.

Liv.
 xxxvi.
 16—21.
 Plut. in
 Cat. 343.
 3, 4.
 Appian.
 in Syr.
 96—98.

Antiochus incamped in the same place, but not with the same intrepid resolution. He also fortified the defile with several works, and closed the entrance with a double fossé, a double palisade, and even a wall in some places, which the abundance of stones he found upon the spot made it easy to erect. Antiochus believed at first that he had sufficiently secured himself by seizing the pass of Thermopylæ, and fortifying it as he had done. Believing therefore that the Romans could never force him in this post, he sent four thousand Ætolians (which were all the troops Ætolia had supplied) half to guard Heraclea, and the other Hypata, which was not very far from it. These four thousand men having joined soon after, shut themselves up in Heraclea. But the King no sooner saw the Romans approach; than he was seized with terror. He knew, that the Persians had found ways in these mountains that brought them over the heads of the

Lace-

Lacedæmonians; and that very lately Philip had also been furrounded by the Romans in such defiles near the river Aous. He therefore sent a courier to the four thousand Ætolians with orders to seize the tops of the mountains, to prevent the Romans from finding any passage that way. Only two thousand obeyed and seized the eminences in three divisions. The Consul, before the battle, thought it necessary to exhort his troops. The officers and soldiers of his army were almost the same that had fought against Philip. He animated them in few words by the remembrance of the famous victory they had gained over that King, who was far more warlike and experienced in battles than Antiochus, and who, softened by the pleasures and luxury of his late marriage, imagined that war was to be made as nuptials were celebrated. He afterwards ordered them to take rest and refreshment.

A. R. 561,
Ant. C,
191,

Acilius had used one precaution, which was the principal cause of his victory. Knowing that the Ætolians had seized the tops of the mountains, he detached M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus, * consular-lieutenants, each with two thousand chosen men, to attack the Ætolians, and to drive them from their posts. The next day, at sun-rise, he gave the signal, and drew up his troops in battle, forming his front very narrow, according to the nature of the place. Antiochus did the same as soon as he saw the Roman ensigns appear. At first his soldiers, placed before and around the works, easily sustained the enemy, who made all manner of efforts to break them on some side, and the better as they were seconded very advantageously by those who from above continually poured with their slings a shower of stones and leaden bullets upon the Romans, at the same time discharging darts and javelins upon them. But afterwards seeing themselves pressed by a great number of Romans, who advanced continually, and whom they

* Plutarch, Appian, and Cicero say, that Cato served at that time only as a legionary Tribune.

A. R. 561. could no longer resist, they retreated into their in-
 Ant. C. trenchments; and covered with their rampart, which
 191. was then before them, they formed a second with
 their lances which they presented to the enemy. Many
 Romans, who advanced too rashly, were ran through,
 and remained upon the spot. The Consul would either
 have been obliged to abandon the enterprize, or would
 have lost abundance of men, if Cato, after having
 driven the Ætolians from the summit called Calli-
 drome, and killed the greatest part of them whom he
 had found asleep, had not shewn himself with his troops
 upon the part of the hill which commanded the ene-
 my's camp. He had undergone inexpressible pains
 and dangers in gaining the top of that mountain, pas-
 sing over impracticable rocks, and ways on the side of
 dreadful precipices. Flaccus had not the same suc-
 cess, and, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, could
 not reach a post guarded by another body of Ætolians.

The soldiers of Antiochus, seeing Cato's troops hi-
 therto only at a distance, imagined they were Ætolians,
 who, having seen the two armies engaged, were com-
 ing to the aid of their Allies. But, when they could
 distinguish by their approach the ensigns and arms of
 the Romans, they were all seized with terror, and most
 of them threw down their arms, and fled. Antiochus,
 wounded in the mouth with a stone, that had beat
 out his teeth, was obliged by the pain to face about.
 After his retreat, no part of his army had the courage
 to face the Romans. It was now only a flight, but
 extremely difficult for the conquered, because on one
 side were only deep morasses, and on the other steep
 rocks, which prevented them almost entirely from
 making off either on the right or the left. The Ro-
 mans, who were endeavouring to pursue them, found
 that also exceeding difficult, first in effect of the
 trenches and palisades, and then of the narrowness of
 the valley through which they were to pass, but espe-
 cially of the elephants which Antiochus had placed in
 his rear-guard, which stopped the foot, and still more
 the horse, that were more frightened at the sight of
 those

those enormous beasts, than at all the noise and din of the battle. They also lost time in plundering the camp of the enemy. However they pushed that day as far as * Scarphia : and having killed or taken a great number not only of men and horses, but also of elephants, they returned to their camp.

A. R. 561.
Ant. C.
191.

When the action was over, the Consul took Cato still heated and out of breath in his arms, held him there a great while, and in the presence of the whole army cried out, in transports of joy, that neither himself, nor the Roman People, could ever reward his services as they deserved. Cato, who acted on this occasion as lieutenant, or more probably as only a legionary Tribune, had been Consul, and at the head of the armies in Spain, where he had highly distinguished himself, as we have related above : but he did not believe it degrading himself to accept a subordinate employment for the service of the State ; and this was customary amongst the Romans.

The Consul had made his cavalry set out towards the end of the night in pursuit of the enemy, and followed them with the legions as soon as day appeared. Antiochus, who was a great way before him, having fled continually with precipitation till he arrived at † Elatea, drew together the remains of the battle and flight in that city, from whence he retired to Chalcis, not having with him above five hundred men of his whole army at most. He did not stay there till the Consul came up, but departing immediately anchored in the port of ‡ Tenos, and from thence went to Ephesus. As soon as Acilius appeared before Chalcis, the gates were opened to him. All the other cities of Eubœa surrendered without being summoned; and the Consul having in a very few days reconquered the whole island, without using violence to any one whatsoever, led back his army to Thermopylæ, much

* A city of Locris in the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ.

† A considerable city of Phocis.

‡ A small island, one of the Cyclades.

A. R. 561. more * commendable for the moderation he shewed
 Ant. C. after the victory, than for the victory itself.
 191.

From thence he sent Cato to carry the news of this success to Rome, mentioning in strong terms in his dispatches the considerable share he had in it. It is noble, in a General, to do another's merit justice in this manner, and not to give jealousy any place in his heart. The arrival of Cato at Rome occasioned the greater joy in the city, as the event of a war with a King so powerful, and of such great reputation, had been much apprehended. Public prayers and sacrifices by way of thanksgiving were decreed during three days.

During the time of the battle, ten galleys from one part and three from another, which came to aid the King, and were arrived in Greece, having been informed of his defeat, returned to Ephesus. Other vessels, with considerable convoys for Antiochus, had already passed the strait near the island of Andros. Atilius, who commanded the Roman fleet, having attacked them, sunk part of them, and took the rest, except those which were in the rear, that made off, and returned to Asia.

Liv. Though the Ætolians, by their violent and insolent
 XXXV. 22. conduct, had rendered themselves unworthy of all favour, Acilius however endeavoured to bring them over again by gentle methods. Before he formed the siege of Heraclea, he represented to those within the place, "that experience at least might shew them, how little they could rely upon Antiochus: that it was still time enough to have recourse to the clemency of the Roman People. That they were not the only People who had been wanting in their fidelity to Allies from whom they had received so many favours: but others had at least condemned their blindness and ingratitude immediately after the defeat and flight of the King, by whose solicitations and promises they

* Multò modestia post victoriam, quam ipsa victoria laudabilior.
 Liv.

had been seduced. That though the Ætolians were the most culpable, as they had not been brought over by that Prince, but had called him in themselves, and had not only shared in the war, as Allies of Antiochus, but ought to be considered as the authors of it: however, if they could resolve to repent by delivering up Heraclea to the Romans, they need not despair of favour and safety."

A. R. 561.
Ant. C.
191.

These remonstrances were ineffectual, and the Consul seeing, that it was necessary to proceed to force, formed the siege of that place with all his forces. Heraclea was a very strong place, of great extent, and in a condition to make a long and vigorous defence. The Consul, having caused the Balistæ, Catapultæ, and all the other machines of war, of which he had provided a great number, to play, caused the city to be attacked at the same time in four different parts. The besieged defended themselves with a courage, or rather fury, not to be expressed. They immediately reinstated the parts of the wall which had been beaten down: they made frequent sallies with a fury that it was hard to sustain, because they fought like men in despair. They burnt in an instant most of the machines employed against them. The attack was continued in this manner during twenty-four days together, without interruption night or day.

Liv.
xxxvi. 22,
24.

It is easy to judge, that the strength of the garrison, which was not very numerous in comparison with the Romans, must be exhausted by so violent and continued a fatigue. The Consul formed a new plan. He made the attack cease about midnight, and did not renew it till the next morning about nine. The Ætolians, not doubting but this must proceed from weariness, and that the besiegers were as much tired with fatigues as themselves, took advantage of the repose given them, and retired at the same time as the Romans did. This passed for some time. But the Consul, having made his troops retreat as usual about midnight, three hours after caused the town to be attacked at three places, only, posting at a fourth side a body

A.R. 561. body of troops with orders to continue quiet till the
 Ant. C. moment the signal for acting should be given. On
 191. this attack, those of the Ætolians who were asleep
 were not awakened without difficulty ; and those who
 were awake ran on all sides where the noise called
 them. At break of day, upon the Consul's signal,
 the assault was made on that side of the city which
 had not been attacked till then, and from which the
 besieged had for that reason drawn off their troops.
 The place was carried that moment, and the Ætolians
 took refuge precipitately in the citadel. The city
 was plundered, less from the motive of hatred and re-
 venge, than to make the soldiers amends, who hi-
 therto had not been permitted to plunder any of the
 cities that had been taken. The citadel, which was
 in want of provisions, could not hold out long, and
 the garrison surrendered at the first attack. Amongst
 the prisoners was Damocritus one of the principal
 persons of the nation, who, in the beginning of the
 war, had answered Quintius, " That he in person
 " would carry the decree, by which the Ætolians
 " had lately called in Antiochus, to Italy." The
 Romans, who remembered this insolent answer, con-
 ceived in effect of it the more joy on account of their
 victory.

Liv. At the same time that the Consul had began the
 xxxvi. 25. siege of Heraclea, King Philip, in concert with him,
 had undertaken that of Lamia, which was but seven
 miles from Heraclea. This nearness of the two be-
 sieged cities, the one by the Romans, the other by
 the Macedonians, gave birth to a lively emulation
 between the two people, each doing their utmost to
 support the honour of their nation. Philip found
 much greater difficulties at Lamia than he had ex-
 pected. The Macedonians carried on a mine with
 infinite pains in a stiff and stony ground, in which
 they met with such hard rocks, as blunted their tools
 without its being possible to cut them. The King,
 finding this work go on so slow, endeavoured to in-
 duce the inhabitants, by conferences with the principal

cipal of them, to put the city into his hands. He was convinced, that if Heraclea was taken first, that they would chuse rather to surrender to the Romans, than to him; and that the Consul would honour himself with the conquest of this place, and make it a merit with the inhabitants to have caused the Macedonians to raise the siege. He reasoned right: for as soon as the Consul had taken Heraclea, he sent to tell Philip to raise the siege; declaring, "that it was but just, that the Romans, who had been at the trouble of fighting the Ætolians, should reap the fruits of the victory." He was obliged to comply. A Prince could not but be highly sensible of such an affront. The place some time after surrendered to the Romans.

A. R. 561.
Ant. C.
191.

Some days before the taking of Heraclea, the Ætolians assembled at Hypata sent Ambassadors to Antiochus, of which number were Nicander and Thoas. They were ordered to desire that Prince, first, to return in person to Greece with a new fleet and army: secondly, if he had any reason to the contrary, to send them troops and money. They represented to him, "that it was for his honour, and his faith required, that he should not abandon his allies in their necessity: that besides, his own safety, and that of his dominions made it necessary, that he should keep the Romans so employed in Greece, that they should neither have time nor power entirely to destroy the Ætolians, in order to enter Asia afterwards with all their forces." These reasons, which were unanswerable, made an impression upon the King. In consequence he immediately gave the Ambassadors the money they wanted for sustaining the war, and promised to send them the sea and land-forces they asked soon after. He kept Thoas with him, who stayed voluntarily, to solicit the promised aids in person.

Liv.
xxxvi. 26.

But the loss of Heraclea entirely discouraged and destroyed the hopes of the Ætolians; and some few days after the departure of the Ambassadors, of whom we have just spoke, renouncing the war absolutely,

Ibid.
27—29.

A. R. 561.
Ant. C.
191.

they sent others to the Consul to demand peace. They began to harangue him, when that General stopping them short, told them that he had something else to do than to hear them; and granting them a truce of ten days, sent them back to Hypata with L. Valerius Flaccus, to whom he ordered them to explain their reasons, as they would have done to himself. When they arrived there, the principal persons of the nation held a council at Flaccus's house, to enquire with him in what manner they were to treat with the Consul. They seemed inclined to put him in mind of the alliances which they had contracted with the Roman people, and the services they had done the Commonwealth. "Flaccus advised them not to mention treaties which themselves had broken. He added, that their safety depending not upon the goodness of their cause, but upon the clemency of the Roman People, the best choice they could make, was to confess their faults and to ask pardon for it. That if they acted as suppliants, he would be a mediator for them with the Consul, and in the Roman Senate, to which it would be necessary also to send Ambassadors. According to the advice of Flaccus, they all concluded, that the only means to save themselves, was to abandon themselves to the faith and humanity of the Romans. They flattered themselves, that this confidence would pique them in point of honour, and make them unwilling to treat suppliants with rigour: and they secretly retained at heart the design and hope of taking advantage of the favourable occasions which fortune might present."

When they were before the Consul Pheneas, the chief of the embassy made a long and pathetic discourse, with the hope of appeasing the Victor's wrath, and concluded with saying, "that the Ætolians ABANDONED THEIR PERSONS AND ALL THAT WERE THEIRS TO THE HUMANITY AND FAITH OF THE ROMANS. The Ætolians did not comprehend the whole extent of what the Romans understood by ABANDONING THEMSELVES TO THE FAITH OF ANY ONE. They probably

bably repeated the words dictated to them by Vale-
rius: in which there would have been a fraud, on the
side of the latter, entirely to be condemned. In the
sense of the Romans, this expression signified to abandon
themselves to the faith of the person to whom
they spoke without reserve, without exception, and so
absolutely, that he might after that without any other
formality, dispose of their fortunes, persons, and even
lives themselves. In a word, it was surrendering at
discretion. When Pheneas had pronounced these
words: "Consider what you say maturely," said the
Consul, "and whether your resolution to submit in
"this manner be well formed." Pheneas shewed him
the decree, in which those terms were repeated word
for word, as he had uttered them.

"As it is so," said the Consul, "I demand that
"you deliver up to me without delay your citizen
"Dicæarchus, and Mænetas of Epirus" (who had
entered Naupactus with troops, and had made the in-
habitants take arms) "with Amynder and the
"principal persons of the Athamantes, by whose
"counsel you revolted against us." Pheneas scarce
stayed till the Consul had spoke these words. Then
replying with warmth, "We gave ourselves up to
"you," said he, "as friends, not as slaves; and I
"am convinced, that it is for want of reflecting upon
"the customs of the Greeks, that you require things of
"us absolutely contrary to them." "I do not regard,"
answered the Consul, "whether I seem to the Ætoli-
"ans to act contrary to the customs of the Greeks:
"it suffices for me to use my authority according to
"the customs of the Romans, over a people who
"come to submit according to their own decree, and
"whom I had already subjected by arms. For which
"reason, if you do not instantly obey, I shall directly
"put you in prison." And he immediately ordered
chains to be brought, and made his Lictors surround
them.

On these menaces, Pheneas and the other Ætolians
lost all spirit, and they began to be sensible of their

A. R. 561. condition. Pheneas said, “ that himself and the other
 Ant. C. 151. “ Ætolians saw plainly that they must obey the Con-
 “ sul’s orders : but that it was necessary to assemble
 “ the nation to pass a decree. That in order to do so
 “ he demanded a truce of ten days.” The Consul
 granted it at the request of Flaccus ; and the depu-
 ties returned to Hypata. Pheneas there, having re-
 lated to those who formed the council the Consul’s
 demands, and the danger to which himself and his
 colleagues had been exposed, the assembly could not
 refrain from groaning on the sad situation of the Æto-
 lians, but they concluded no less in effect for obedi-
 ence, and immediately summoned the whole nation.

When the whole assembled People were apprized
 of the matter in question, they were so much incensed
 at the Consul’s haughtiness and rigour, that, had they
 been at peace, their rage would have been capable of
 making them take arms. With the indignation occa-
 sioned by the severity of these orders, united the ri-
 gour of executing them. How could they in parti-
 cular deliver up the person of King Amynder to
 the Romans ? They were in this disposition, when
 Nicander returned from his embassy to Syria, and
 flattered the multitude with vain hopes, by informing
 them, that Antiochus was making preparations to
 renew the war with more vigour than ever ; and the
 sums sent with him by that Prince were good vouch-
 ers of this. In consequence the negotiation on foot
 had no effect.

It cannot be denied but the insolence and perfidy
 of the Ætolians, and their violent hatred for Rome,
 deserved the most severe treatment. But the Con-
 sul’s conduct, full of haughtiness, and founded upon
 a pretended consent and terms of which the Æto-
 lians did not understand the force, is very strange,
 and seems extremely foreign to the Roman charac-
 ter.

Liv. xxxvi. 30. Acilius, being informed, that the assembly of Hy-
 pata refused the peace, and that the Ætolians had
 joined their forces at Naupactus to sustain the whole
 weight

weight of the war in that place, determined to follow them thither. After having undergone incredible fatigues in the defiles of the mountains he had to pass, where a small number of troops might have stopped him, he at length arrived before the city, and formed the siege of it, which did not cost him less pains, labours and works than that of Heraclea.

At the same time Philip, by the Consul's permission, made war on his side, and with advantage. He took Demetrias, Dolopia, Aperantia, and some cities of Perrhæbia. Liv. xxxvi. 32, 33.

Quintius, who had been at the assembly of the Achæans, and had engaged them to surrender Zaccynthus to the Romans, went afterwards to Naupactus, which was reduced to the last extremity. The Romans had now battered it with great vigour during two months: and if they had taken it by force, its ruin would infallibly have been followed by that of all Ætolia. Quintius had all manner of reason to be dissatisfied with the Ætolians, who had alone endeavoured to deprive him of the glorious title of Deliverer of Greece, and had despised his counsels, when foreseeing all that had lately happened, he had endeavoured to dissuade them from so frantick an enterprize. However, convinced that it was for his honour not to suffer any of the States of a country, whose liberty he had restored, to be destroyed, he began by walking round the walls, in order to make the Ætolians observe him. The report that Quintius was in sight immediately spread throughout the whole city. The people that instant ran from all parts to the walls. Those unfortunate citizens, holding out their hands towards Quintius, and calling him by his name, all wept, and implored his aid with great cries. Quintius, moved with their condition, so much as even to shed tears, made a sign to them with his hand that it was not in his power to extricate them out of the danger that menaced them. Ibid. 34, 35.

He afterwards waited upon the Consul and entered into a conversation with him. "Manius," said he,

A. R. 561. " don't you see the consequences of all this, or fore-
 Ant. C. " seeing them, do you believe that they are indiffe-
 191. " rent with respect to the good of the Common-
 " wealth?" The Consul, surprized with this question,
 the sense of which he did not comprehend, desired him
 to explain himself more clearly. " How!" resumed
 Quintius, " don't you perceive, that after having de-
 " feated Antiochus, you lose time in besieging two
 " cities, your Consulship being upon the point of ex-
 " piring: whereas Philip, who was not present at the
 " battle, has already conquered not only cities, but
 " provinces also, as Athamania, Aperantia, Dolo-
 " pia, and Perrhæbia. And however, it is of much
 " less importance to us to weaken the Ætolians,
 " than to prevent the extraordinary growth of Philip's
 " power."

The Consul owned the solidity of these reflections.
 But he was ashamed to raise the siege of a city he had
 attacked during two months. He left Quintius to
 act in this affair as he should think expedient. The
 latter having approached the walls a second time, the
 cries of the inhabitants were renewed, and he was
 again earnestly implored to take pity of the nation.
 He bade them send some deputies to him. Pheneas
 and the principal persons came out and threw them-
 selves at his feet. Seeing them in that posture:
 " Your misfortune," said he, " suppresses all sense
 " of anger and revenge in me. You see the accom-
 " plishment of all that I foretold to you; and you have
 " not the consolation to be able to say, that you have
 " not deserved what you suffer. But destined as I am,
 " to defend and preserve Greece, ingratitude shall not
 " set aside my inclination to do good. Send deputies
 " to the Consul, to obtain a truce from him, which
 " will give you time to send to Rome, to make your
 " submission to the Senate. I will intercede for you,
 " and be your advocate with the Consul." They fol-
 lowed Quintius's counsel in every thing. The Consul
 granted them a truce, raised the siege, and marched
 his army into Phocis.

What

What a difference is here between the conduct of ^{A. R. 561.} Acilius and that of ^{Ant. C. 191.} Quintius ! This strong contrast between two Generals in respect to the same people, shew us how advantageous goodness, lenity, and clemency, even in respect to those who have rendered themselves most unworthy of them, are in the conduct of great affairs.

King Philip sent Ambassadors to Rome, to con- ^{Liv. xxxvi. 35.} gratulate the Romans upon the good success of this campaign, and to offer presents and sacrifices to the Gods in the Capitol. They were received there with great marks of consideration, and Demetrius, Philip's son, who was kept at Rome, as an hostage, was put into their hands. This ended in Greece the war made there by the Consul Manius Acilius against Antiochus King of Syria.

We have spoke elsewhere of the victory of Scipio Nasica, Acilius's colleague, over the Boii, and of that Consul's triumph.

Antiochus, after his defeat, remained quiet at ^{Ibid. 38.} Ephesus, relying upon the word of his courtiers and ^{40, 41.} flatterers, that he had nothing to fear from the Romans, and that they had no thoughts of coming to Asia. In this manner does the Divine Providence abandon the Princes it has determined to humble and cast down, to their own indolence. Hannibal, who at this time was in considerable credit with him, was the only one capable of rousing him from this lethargic stupefaction. He plainly told him, " that he was much in the wrong to flatter himself with vain hopes as he did, and to suffer himself to be lulled by discourses void of all reason and probability. That he had certain advice, that Rome had some time since made a new fleet and General set out from her ports. That it would cost her less to go from Greece to Asia, than from Italy to Greece. That he would very soon have the Romans to fight both by sea and land in Asia and for Asia ; and that he must either resolve to renounce empire, or to defend himself in arms against an enemy, who aspired at nothing less than to make

A.R. 561. themselves masters of the universe." The King then
 Ant. C. conceived all the danger he was in. He sent orders,
 191. to hasten the march of the troops from the East, which
 were not yet arrived. He caused his fleet to be equipped,
 embarked on board it, and went to the Chersonesus.
 He there fortified Lyfimachia, Sestus, Abydos,
 and the other places in the neighbourhood, to prevent
 the Romans from entering Asia through the Hellespont.

Liv. C. Livius, commander of the Roman fleet, had set
 xxxvi. out from Rome with fifty large ships. When he arrived
 42-45. at Corfu, he was informed that the Consul and
 Antiochus were incamped near Thermopylæ: (for
 the battle had not yet been fought.) He made haste
 therefore to the Piræus, where the Roman fleet commanded
 by Atilius lay. It consisted of five and twenty large
 ships, to which adding the six furnished by the Carthaginians,
 Livius's fleet consisted of fourscore large ships of war,
 without including a very great number of smaller vessels.
 He departed without loss of time, and arrived at Delos,
 where they were delayed some days by contrary winds.

During this interval Antiochus had been driven out
 of Greece by the Consul, and he was then in the Hellespont,
 when the Roman fleet was in the road of Delos. Polyxenidas,
 Admiral of that Prince's fleet, having given him advice of
 this, Antiochus immediately returned to Ephesus, and held
 a council to deliberate whether it were proper to try the
 fortune of a battle by sea. Polyxenidas was of opinion, "that
 it was necessary to attack the enemy before the fleet of
 Eumenes, and the galleys of the Rhodians had joined them.
 That by this means, they would be almost equal to the
 Romans in number, but much superior by the swiftness of
 their ships, and the variety of support. That the Roman
 vessels, through the gross manner in which they were built,
 moved heavily; besides which, coming so far into an enemy's
 country, they were laden with provisions; whereas those of
 the King carried only soldiers and arms. That they

should have the additional advantage of knowing the seas, lands and winds, the ignorance of which only was capable of occasioning great disorders amongst the enemy." Polyxenidas, in giving this counsel, had the greater weight, as he was to put it in execution.

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191.

They employed two days in preparations, and on the third Polyxenidas set out with an hundred ships, of which seventy had decks, and the rest were open, and arrived at * Phocæa. As the King was not to be present in this action, when he was informed, that the enemy's fleet approached, he retired to Magnesia near Sipylus, to put his land-forces in a condition to act. The fleet advanced as far as Cyffontum, a port of the Erythræans, as to a post where it waited the enemy with more advantage.

When the north winds, which had kept the Romans at Delos many days, were abated, they continued their course, and arrived before Phocæa, which submitted immediately. Eumenes, with twenty-four decked ships, and some few open vessels, joined the Roman fleet there, which was preparing to give the enemy battle. From thence setting out with about an hundred and five decked ships, and about fifty without decks, they were at first driven by the north winds, that blew upon their quarter; so that to avoid being wrecked, they were obliged to place themselves in a line behind one another, and to move on in a long file. When the violence of those winds was a little abated, they endeavoured to gain the port of Corycus above Cyffontum.

Polyxenidas, who sought only an occasion for fighting, rejoiced on being informed, that the Romans were coming to meet him. In consequence he drew up his fleet in battle, extended the left wing towards the main sea, ordered his Lieutenants to draw up the right towards the land; and in that order advanced in a line against the enemy. The Romans seeing his

* A city of Asia Minor.

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Ant. C.
191.

disposition, furling their sails, lowered their masts, and at the same time that they made their ships ready for fighting, waited the coming up of those behind them. They had drawn up about thirty in front, which formed their right wing; and to give the left room for forming, hoisting the small sails, they advanced towards the main sea, ordering those that followed to keep their prows against the enemy's right wing drawn up along the coast. Eumenes was in the rear-guard. But as soon as he judged by the noise he heard, that the two fleets were upon the point of charging, he made his ships advance with all possible expedition.

When they were within a nearer view of each other, three ships were detached from the fleet of Antiochus, and advanced against two Carthaginian galleys, which were a-head of those of the Romans. As the match was not equal, two of Antiochus's ships surrounded one of the Carthaginian; and first broke all its oars, then boarded it sword in hand, and took it after having beat down and killed those who defended it. The one that remained, seeing the other taken by the enemy, sheered off to rejoin the rest of the fleet, before the three Syrian ships should come to surround it.

Livius, enraged at this sight, advanced in the Admiral galley, on board of which he was. At the same time, the two, which had taken the Carthaginian ship, came on to meet him, in hopes of gaining the same advantage over him. Livius, to make his galley more steady, ordered the mariners to lower the oars on both sides into the sea, to grapple the ships of the enemy with their Corvi, and to come board and board with them, in order to fight close and hand to hand. He exhorted them to remember that they were Romans, and not to consider those vile slaves of Eastern Kings as men. At this time a single ship was seen to attack and take two with more ease than two had taken one some moments before.

The two fleets had already charged on all sides, and the ships universally mingled had rendered the battle general. Eumenes, who arrived last and after the beginning of the action, having observed the disorder, which Livius had occasioned in the enemy's left wing, fell upon their right, which still defended itself with equal advantage.

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191.

The defeat of the Syrians began on the left wing. When Polyxenidas saw the superiority which the Roman soldiers had over his in valour, he caused the small sails to be hoisted, and fled with precipitation. The right wing, after having sustained the attack of Eumenes for some time, did not delay following the Admiral. The Romans, seconded by Eumenes, pursued them vigorously with the help of their oars, in hopes to come up with their rear. But at length, finding that the ships of the defeated, which were much lighter, had greatly the advantage of theirs, laden with provisions and machines, they stopped, after having taken thirteen galleys with their crews of soldiers and seamen, and sunk ten. The Romans lost only That, which had been taken at the beginning of the battle by the two that had invested it. Polyxenidas continued flying, till he saw himself in the port of Ephesus. The Romans stayed that day at Cyffontum, from whence the fleet of Antiochus had set out to meet them; and the next day they put to sea again to go in quest of the enemy. In the middle of their course they met five and twenty Rhodian galleys, under the command of Pausistratus.

With this reinforcement, they advanced quite to Ephesus, and drew up in battle in the mouth of the port itself. But as the enemy made no motion, contented with that confession of their weakness, they retired. Eumenes and the Rhodians returned home. As to Livius, he steered for Chios, where he landed the next day. He continued there some days, to give his crews rest, and then repaired to Phocæa. Having left four galleys of five benches of oars there to guard the city, he sailed with the fleet to Canes. There, as
winter

A. R. 561. winter approached, he drew his ships on shore and in-
 Ant. C. 191. closed them within a fossé and palisade.

Liv. Towards the end of the year the assembly at Rome
 xxxvi. 45. elected L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Lælius Consuls,
 in the hope that they would terminate the war with Syria,
 which was then the great object of the attention
 of the Romans.

S E C T. II.

The Ætolian Ambassadors are dismissed without having obtained peace. Scipio Africanus causes Greece to be given his brother as his province. The Senate leave the Consul at liberty to go to Asia, if he should judge it proper. Cornelius sets out from Rome. The Senate cause a new fleet to be built. Anxiety of the Ætolians. Return of their Ambassadors. The new Consul arrives in Greece. After many refusals, he at last grants the Ætolians a truce of six months to send Ambassadors to Rome. The Consul sets out for Asia, after having first sounded Philip's disposition. That Prince receives him and his army with royal magnificence. Great preparations of Antiochus, especially to fit out a new fleet. Livius puts to sea; goes to the Hellespont, and takes Sestos. Polyxenidas, having deceived Pausistratus, entirely defeats the Rhodian fleet. Livius abandons the siege of Abydos. The Rhodians fit out a new fleet. The two united fleets approach Ephesus, and cannot bring the enemy to a battle. Æmilius Regillus takes upon him the command in the room of Livius. Seleucus besieges Pergamus. Eumenes, and soon after the Romans and Rhodians come to the aid of that city. Antiochus sends proposals of peace to the Prætor Æmilius, but ineffectually. The Achæans, commanded by Diophanes, cause the siege of Pergamus to be raised. Antiochus's fleet, commanded partly by Hannibal, is defeated by the Rhodians. Antiochus endeavours to engage Prusias in his party. He is determined to join the Romans by letters
from

from the Scipios. Sea-fight between the Prætor Æmilius and Polyxenidas near Myonnesus, in which the Syrians are defeated.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

A. R. 562.

C. LÆLIUS.

Ant. C.
190.

THE new Consuls having entered upon office, the first care of the Senate, after having satisfied the duties of religion, was to examine the affair of the Ætolians. Their Ambassadors earnestly demanded, that it should be terminated before the time of the truce which had been granted them should expire; in which they were supported by the credit of Quintius, who was then returned from Greece to Rome. As they relied much more upon the Senate's clemency than upon the goodness of their cause, they chose to demand grace for their recent faults, in consideration of their past services. For the rest, as long as they continued in the chamber of audience, they had much to suffer from the close questions, which the Senators in emulation of each other put to them, in order to extort from them a confession of their inconstancy and infidelity, rather than to hear their excuses and apologies. When they left it, opinions were much divided concerning the manner in which they ought to be treated. The remembrance of their injurious and violent behaviour had almost extinguished all sense of compassion in the minds of the Senate. They were considered, not as common enemies, but as wild and untractable savages. At length, after the affair had been debated for several days with abundance of warmth, the result of the deliberation was, that without either granting or refusing them peace, it should be left to their option either to abandon themselves to the discretion of the Senate, or to pay the Roman People a * thousand talents, and to engage to have no other friends or enemies but theirs. They made earnest instances to be informed upon what articles the Senate desired that they should refer themselves to their

Liv.
xxxvii. 1.

* About
150000 l.

A. R. 562. their discretion : but no positive answer was given
 Ant. C. 190. them. In consequence they were dismissed without
 having obtained the peace they came to demand, and
 had orders to quit the city that day, and Italy in
 fifteen.

Liv.
 xxxvii. 1.

The provinces to be assigned the Consuls were the next subject of deliberation. Both desired Greece ; and the Senate having ordered them to draw lots, or to agree between themselves, Lælius, who was in great credit with that body, said that it was more decent to leave that choice to the prudence of the Senate, than to refer it to the caprice of chance. L. Scipio replied, that he would consider of it ; and having conferred with his brother, who told him he might boldly refer it to the Senate, he declared that he accepted Lælius's proposal. The case was new, or, at least, time had entirely effaced examples of it in the minds of the Senate, who expected a long contest about it, when Scipio Africanus rising up, said, " that if they would grant his brother the province of Greece, he would serve under him in quality of his Lieutenant." This declaration was received with the applause of the whole assembly, and instantly put an end to the dispute. Greece was decreed to Scipio, and Italy to Lælius, with almost unanimous consent. They were highly pleased with trying whether the counsels of vanquished Hannibal would be more salutary to Antiochus, than those of Scipio his conqueror to the Consul and his legions. The Prætors afterwards drew lots for their province, and the command of the fleet fell to L. Æmilius Regillus.

Ibid. 2.

Cornelius, who was to command in Greece, was left at liberty to go to Asia, if he should judge that the good of the Commonwealth required it. Twenty ships of war, with all their equipage, were given to the Prætor Regillus ; to which he had orders to add a thousand seamen, and two thousand foot to be raised by himself, and with these forces to go to Asia, where C. Livius was to resign the command of the fleet to him.

The

The Consul Cornelius, after having terminated the affairs that kept him at Rome, and had made all the necessary preparations, quitted the city in the military robe, according to custom, carrying with him, besides eight thousand men whom he had levied by order of the Senate, about five thousand volunteers, who having compleated their time of service under Scipio Africanus, entered at this time with joy into a new engagement under his brother's ensigns.

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Ant. C.
190.
Liv.
xxxvii. 4.

The Senate commissioned L. Aurunculejus to build thirty galleys of five benches of oars, and twenty of three, because it was rumoured, that Antiochus, after the naval battle he had lost, was fitting out a much more considerable fleet than the first.

In the beginning of this year forty-three Ætolians of principal rank arrived at Rome, amongst whom were Damocritus and his brother, guarded by two cohorts, which Manius Acilius had expressly detached, and on their arrival were thrown into prison. These were prisoners of war.

In the mean time the Ætolians waited the return of their Ambassadors with great anxiety. The answer they brought back, and which put an end to all hope of peace, threw the Ætolian People into the utmost consternation. Justly afraid of the danger, with which they were menaced from the Romans, they seized mount Corax, to shut up the pass against their army. For they did not doubt but in the beginning of the spring they would return to besiege Naupactus. But Acilius surprized them by a project they did not expect, and attacked * Lamia, which probably had revolted. It at first made a very vigorous defence, but at length it was obliged to surrender. From thence he went to attack † Amphissa, whose inhabitants behaved with great courage.

Ibid. 3, 4.

Breaches were already made in several places, when Acilius received advice, that his successor was landed

Ibid. 6, 7.

* A city of Thessaly in Phthiotis.

† A city of Locris.

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Ant. C.
190.

at Apollonia *, and that he was crossing Epirus and Thessalia in order to join him. He brought with him thirteen thousand foot and five hundred horse. When he arrived at the gulf of † Malia, he sent to summon the inhabitants of Hypata to surrender their city to him. They answered, that they could do nothing except by a decree of the general assembly of the Ætolians. Then, not to stop at the siege of Hypata before Amphissa had surrendered, he marched before the latter city, having made his brother Scipio Africanus set out before him. On their approach, the inhabitants had retired into the citadel, which they considered as impregnable.

The Consul had incamped six miles from thence, when Ambassadors from the Athenians, after having before applied to his brother, came to him to implore his clemency in behalf of the Ætolians. Scipio Africanus had given them a sufficiently favourable answer. That superior genius, whose views were always great and extensive, and who only sought an honourable pretext for abandoning the war of Ætolia, in order to turn the whole force of the Commonwealth against Antiochus and Asia, had directed the Athenians, not only to endeavour to prevail upon the Romans, but to incline the Ætolians themselves to prefer peace to war: and the Ætolians had sent a numerous embassy from Hypata to demand peace. Africanus, by his discourse, increased the hope they had of obtaining it. He told them, "That when he had commanded first in Spain, and afterwards in Africa, of many nations he had subjected to the Roman People, there was not one, to whom he had not given more proofs of clemency and benevolence, than of courage and ability in the art of war." The affair seemed to wear a good aspect: but when the Ambassadors were introduced to the Consul, he gave them, no doubt conformably to his orders, the same

* A sea-port town of Macedonia.

† The gulf of Malia is in Phthiotis, which is part of Thessalia.

answer as the Senate had at Rome, and which had driven them from thence. The Ætolians, struck with a rigour, for which the intercession of the Athenians and the favourable reception of Scipio Africanus had not prepared them, replied, that they were going to give an account of their commission to those who had sent them.

When they returned to Hypata, the heads of the nation were highly embarrassed. For they were not in a condition to furnish the thousand talents demanded of them, and were afraid, if they surrendered at discretion, that the Romans might believe they had a right to inflict punishment upon, and dispose of, their persons. They therefore sent back the same Ambassadors to the Consul and his brother Africanus, to implore them, if they sincerely intended to grant them peace, and not to deceive them with vain hopes, either that they would abate them part of the sum, which they demanded, or permit them, in surrendering, to add a clause for the exemption of their persons. The Consul was inexorable. They were reduced to despair. Æchedæmus, the most considerable of the Athenian Ambassadors, did not lose all hopes as they did. He advised them to ask a truce of six months in order to send new Ambassadors to Rome, representing to them, that the advantage of time might produce great changes in affairs. The truce was granted them. Perhaps Æchedæmus gave them this counsel in concert with the Consul and his brother Africanus, to whom it was of the highest importance not to be detained in Greece by the war of Ætolia. The siege of Amphissa was immediately raised, and Acilius having resigned his army to the Consul, resumed his route for Rome.

There was no farther obstacle to the designs and desires of the Consul. He immediately meditated upon repairing to Thessaly, in order to cross Macedonia and Thrace, and from thence to go to Asia. But his brother made him reflect on the state of affairs. "I highly approve," said he to him, "the route
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Liv.
xxxvi. 7.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C.
1906

A. R. 562. “ you intend to take : but your safety entirely de-
 Ant. C. “ pends upon the disposition of King Philip. For,
 190. “ if he continues faithful to us, he will open the
 “ ways himself, and supply our army with the pro-
 “ visions of all kinds, of which it will have occasion
 “ for so long a march. But if he should abandon us,
 “ you would be exposed to great dangers in passing
 “ through Thrace. For which reason I advise you,
 “ before you engage in this design, to sound that
 “ Prince upon it. The most assured means of know-
 “ ing his real sentiments, is to send a courier to him,
 “ who will surprize him by arriving unexpectedly.”

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, a young Roman, full of ardour and vivacity, was charged with this commission. He set out from Amphissa, and with the horses which were laid in readiness on his route, his expedition was so prodigious, that on the third day he arrived at Pella. The King was at table, and even in his cups, when Gracchus was presented to him. This was to the courier a sign, that he meditated no designs to the prejudice of the Romans. That Prince received him very graciously ; and the next day, shewed him the convoys which he kept in readiness for the Roman army, and gave him all possible assurances, that the bridges were laid over the rivers, and the ways made easy and practicable. The courier returned, with the same diligence as he came, to carry this good news to the Consul, whom he met at * Thaumaci.

Liv. The army full of confidence and joy immediately
 xxxvii. 7. entered Macedonia, where every thing was in readiness to give them a good reception. Philip received them in effect with all the marks of good-will that could be expected from the most zealous and faithful ally. He supplied them with a truly royal generosity with all refreshments, and necessary aids. † In the feasts,

* A city of Thessalia.

† Multa in eo & dexteritas & humanitas visa, quæ commendibilia apud Africanum erant ; verum sicut ad cætera egregium, ita à comitate, quæ sine luxuria esset, non alienum. Liv.

which he gave the Consul, his brother, and the principal Roman officers, he behaved with an easy and graceful air, that had its merit with Scipio Africanus. For that great man, who excelled in all things, was no enemy to a certain dignity of manners and a noble generosity, provided it did not degenerate into luxury.

The praise Livy gives Scipio Africanus in this place, is also much in favour of Philip. He entertained at that time in his palace the most illustrious of mankind then in being: a Consul of the Roman People, and at the same time at the head of their armies; and what was still greater, Scipio Africanus, the Consul's brother. Profusion is common, and seems pardonable on these occasions. There was none in Philip's reception of his guests. He entertained like a great King, and with a magnificence that suited their dignity and his own, but which had nothing excessive in it, nor that argued pomp and ostentation; and which was infinitely heightened by obliging manners, and an attention in introducing with taste, and according to the occasion, whatever could be agreeable to his guests. *Multa in eo dexteritas & humanitas visa.* These personal qualities did him more honour in the sense of Scipio, and rendered Philip more estimable to him, than the most sumptuous profusions could have done. This fine taste on both sides, which is uncommon in Princes and great persons, is a good model for those of that high rank. But it requires no small courage and force of mind, a very refined sense of true greatness, and an highly superior merit in all things, not to be carried away by the torrent of example, and a mode become universal. A King, however, ought to be sensible, that it is for him to give the law, and not to receive it; and Pliny justly observes *, that the conduct of Princes infallibly becomes the rule of their subjects, who, in order to act

* Vita Principis censura est, eaque perpetua. Ad hanc dirigimur, ad hanc convertimur; nec tam imperio nobis opus est, quam exemplo. PLIN. in Panegy. Traj.

A. R. 562. aright, do not stand in need of edicts and decrees, but
 Ant. C. of good examples.
 190.

The Consul and his brother, in acknowledgment of the noble and generous manner with which Philip had received the army, according to the power they had received, remitted the rest of the money he was to pay, in the name of the Roman People.

Philip seemed to make it a duty and pleasure to accompany the Roman army, and to supply it with all that was necessary, not only in Macedonia, but as far as Thrace. His experience of the superiority of the Roman forces to his own, and his inability to throw off the yoke of obedience and subjection, always grating to a King, obliged him to conciliate a People, upon whom from thenceforth his fate depended; and it was prudent in him to do That with a good grace, which he was in some sense obliged to do. For, at bottom, it must have been hard for him not to retain a lively resentment against the Romans in effect of the state to which they had reduced him. Kings are not apt to habituate dependance upon, and to bear subjection to others, without great reluctance.

Liv.
 xxxvii. 8. Antiochus, after the naval battle which he had lost near Corycus, having had the whole winter to prepare for sustaining the weight of the Roman arms both by sea and land, had particularly applied himself to fitting out a new fleet, for fear of being entirely deprived of power by sea. He had occasion for an extraordinary number of ships in order to make head against the enemy. For this reason he had sent Hannibal into Syria, to fetch the ships of the Phœnicians; and had ordered Polyxenidas to refit the old ones he had already, and to cause new ones to be built; conceiving that the remembrance of his defeat would render him more careful and attentive to acquit himself well of that commission. As for himself, he passed the winter in Phrygia, sending his orders on all sides for drawing all his forces together. He had left his son Seleucus in Æolis with an army, to awe
 the

the maritime cities. For they were solicited both by Eumenes, who reigned at Pergamus, and by the Romans, who held Phocæa and Erythræa.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C.
190.

The Rhodians, to make amends for the fault they had committed the preceding campaign by arriving too late, sent about the vernal Equinox the same Pausistratus to the aid of the Romans, at the head of a fleet consisting of thirty-six ships. Livius, who had wintered at Canæ, as we have said, was departed from thence with thirty ships, and the seven galleys of four benches of oars, which Eumenes had brought, and was advancing towards the Hellespont, to favour the passage of the Consul's troops into Asia. He left ten ships before Abydos, and went with the rest of the fleet to besiege Sestos, which is on the opposite shore in Europe. The soldiers had began the attack sword in hand, when the Priests of Cybele the mother of the Gods, in their sacerdotal robes, with frantic gestures according to their custom, appeared at the gates, crying out that they were the ministers of Cybele, and came by order of that Goddess to intreat the Romans to spare a city that was under her protection. The attack was suspended, and a moment after the Senate, at the head of all the magistrates, came to surrender the city to Livius. The fleet moved from thence to Abydos. Livius first sounded the disposition of the inhabitants, endeavouring to make them surrender voluntarily: but seeing them determined to defend themselves, he resolved to employ force.

Liv.
xxxvii. 9.

Whilst these things passed in the Hellespont, Polyxenidas, Admiral of the royal fleet, who was a Rhodian exile, received advice, that the squadron of his countrymen was set out from the island, and that Pausistratus, who commanded it, in haranguing the People, had spoke of him with haughtiness and contempt. Stung by this injury, and actuated by the desire of revenge, he resolved to make Pausistratus repent his bravadoes. He sent a man to him, known to them both, with orders to tell him, that Polyxenidas was capable, if he would consent to it, of doing him, and

Ibid. 10,
11.

A.R. 562.
Ait. C.
190.

the Rhodians, a great service ; and that Pausistratus, in his turn, could reinstate Polyxenidas in his country. He promised to make none of the necessary preparations, and to deliver up the King's whole fleet to Pausistratus, or at least the greatest part of it ; and for so important a service he asked no other recompence than permission to return to Rhodes. Pausistratus judged the affair of too great consequence to be rejected with contempt, or to be believed too lightly. Couriers passed between them, without persuading Pausistratus, till Polyxenidas, in presence of the Rhodian agent, had wrote, signed, and sealed with his own seal a letter confided to him, by which he assured Pausistratus, that he would perform what he had promised. So formal an engagement dispelled all doubts. The dissembled negligence, which Polyxenidas made appear in the equipment of his fleet, fully convinced Pausistratus, and made him fall into a real negligence. Polyxenidas well knew how to take advantage of it. To conceal his motions from the enemy, he set sail after sun-set with seventy large ships, and with a favourable wind, arrived in the port of Pygelus, towards the end of the night. He lay there all the next day for the same reason, and approached the coast of Panormus during the night. The Rhodian fleet was in the port of that city. He entered it as soon as it was light, and attacked it at a time when Pausistratus expected nothing less. The latter, who was an old and very experienced warrior, was not daunted, drew up his ships in order of battle in the best manner so sudden an attack would admit, fought with extraordinary valour, and was killed in the action. His fleet was entirely defeated. He had twenty-nine ships either sunk, or burnt : only seven escaped, who courageously opened themselves a passage through the enemy, and went to join the Roman fleet in the Hellespont.

At the same time Seleucus retook Phocæa by the treachery of those who guarded the gates, and opened them to him.

The

The inhabitants of Abydos, after having sustained the siege many days, capitulated with the Romans. The only article that gave them pause related to the soldiers of the garrison, whom Livius would have suffered to quit the place, but without their arms, whereas they insisted upon keeping them. The affair was upon the point of being terminated, when the news of the defeat of the Rhodians snatched the victory out of the hands of Livius. That General fearing that Polyxenidas, flushed with this success, would come to surprize and attack the fleet he had left at Canæ, and which he had drawn upon the shore, abandoned the siege in order to join it, and put to sea.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C.
190.
Liv.
xxxvii. 12.

The defeat of the Rhodian fleet gave them great grief, and threw them into a great alarm. For, besides their ships and soldiers, they had lost the flower of the Rhodian youth, most of the nobility having followed Pausistratus, who was much respected and beloved on account of his extraordinary merit. But soon after, reflecting that they had been overcome by the fraud and not the valour of the enemy, they recovered from their discouragement. Indignation, and the desire of revenging themselves upon a countryman, who had drawn them into this snare, uniting with the hope, which began to revive in their hearts, they fitted out ten galleys immediately, and some days after ten more. They gave the command of them to Eudamus, convinced that if he had not the other qualities of a General in the same degree as Pausistratus, he would at least be more circumspect, and for the very reason that he had less fire and genius.

Ibid.

When he had joined Livius with his fleet, they went together to Ephesus, to give the enemy battle, or to reduce them to own their fear in refusing to fight, which would have a good effect on the Allies. Livius, Admiral of the fleet, drew up his ships in a line facing the mouth of the port. But seeing no body move against him, nor accept the defiance, he left part of his ships at anchor near the entrance of the port, whilst the other landed the soldiers, to plun-

Ibid. 13.

A. R. 562. der the country in the neighbourhood of the coast.
 Aut. C. They had already carried off a great booty, and ap-
 190. proached the walls of the city, when Andronicus, who
 was in garrison at Ephesus, made a sally upon them,
 and after having taken part of their plunder from
 them, forced them to return to their ships, and to
 make off to sea. The two fleets returned to Samos,
 from whence they had set out.

Liv. L. Æmilius Regillus being arrived at Samos, took
 xxxvii.18. upon him the command of the fleet from Livius.
 The latter, some time after, repaired to Greece to
 confer with the Scipios, who were then in the neigh-
 bourhood of Thessalia, and from thence to return to
 Italy.

Seleucus, son of Antiochus, to take advantage of
 the absence of Eumenes King of Pergamus, who had
 quitted his dominions, and had joined the Romans
 with his troops, formed the design of going to attack
 Pergamus, the capital of the whole kingdom. At-
 talus, the King's brother, posted himself first before
 the walls with a body of cavalry and light-armed
 troops, and by frequent skirmishes harrassed the ene-
 my, rather than gave them battle. But the experi-
 ence of some days having shewn him, that he was in
 no capacity to make head against them, he shut him-
 self up in the city, which Seleucus immediately be-
 sieged. Much about the same time, Antiochus hav-
 ing set out from Apamea, incamped first at Sardis,
 and then not far from Seleucus, at the source of the
 river Caycus, with a great army, composed of troops
 of many nations.

When the news of the siege of Pergamus was
 brought to Samos, Eumenes set out first to defend
 his country, and arrived with his fleet at Elæa. Hav-
 ing found cavalry and infantry there in readiness to
 follow him, he advanced with that escort to the aid
 of Pergamus, and arrived there before the enemy
 perceived his march, and had made any motion to
 stop him. The skirmishes immediately began again,
 Eumenes not daring to venture a general battle. But,

some few days after, the Roman fleet and that of the Rhodians came from Samos to * Elæa, to extricate that Prince out of danger.

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Ant. C.
190.

In consequence, as soon as Antiochus knew, that they had landed their troops at Elæa, and that so great a number of ships were assembled in that single port, and had also received advice, that the Consul was already arrived in Macedonia, and was preparing to pass the Hellespont, he thought it incumbent upon him to demand peace, before he saw himself pressed by sea and land. He therefore marched and incamped upon an eminence opposite to Elæa. He left his whole infantry there, and coming down with all his cavalry, which amounted to six thousand men, into a plain under the very walls of Elæa, he sent a trumpet to Æmilius, with orders to tell him, that the King was come to make proposals of peace.

Æmilius, before he answered him, made Eumenes come from Pergamus, and held a council with him, to which the Rhodians were admitted. The latter were not averse to a peace. But Eumenes affirmed, that in the present conjuncture they would treat neither with honour nor authority. "Can we," said he, "shut up as we are in a city besieged, receive the conditions that shall be imposed upon us with honour? Besides, what force will a treaty have, that we shall negotiate in the absence of the Consul, and without the authority of the Roman Senate and People?" He added many other reasons, and concluded, not to enter into a conference upon the subject of peace. The opinion of Eumenes took place, and Antiochus was answered, that no proposals would be heard before the Consul's arrival. That Prince seeing that he had no peace to hope, ravaged the whole country round Elæa and Pergamus; and then leaving his son Seleucus there, he committed the same hostilities on his march upon the territory of

* Elæa was the arsenal of the navy of the Kings of Pergamus, five leagues from that city.

1. R. 562. * Adramyttium, and afterwards went to the plains of
 Ant. C. Thebæ, a city, which Homer has rendered famous
 190. by the mention he has made of it in his Iliad. As
 these plains were very fertile and rich, the soldiers of
 Antiochus made much greater booty here than in any
 other district. Æmilius and Eumenes, having come
 round the coast with their ships, came to the aid of
 the city of Adramyttium.

Liv. At this time, a thousand foot and an hundred horse,
 xxxvii. 20. that came from Achaia under the command of Dio-
 21. phanes, landed at Elæa, where they were received,
 on quitting their ships, by officers, whom Attalus
 sent to them, and who introduced them into Perga-
 mus during the night. They were all veteran soldi-
 ers enured to war. The person who commanded
 them, had learnt the art military under Philopœmen,
 the greatest Captain at that time in Greece. That
 officer asked but two days, as well for resting his men
 and horses, as to consider the troops of the enemy,
 and to inform himself in their conduct.

From the time that fear had obliged Attalus, and
 his people to shut themselves up in their city, the
 contempt which the Syrians conceived for the besieged,
 had occasioned great security and negligence amongst
 them. Most of them did not give themselves the
 trouble to keep their horses saddled and bridled.
 Only a small number remained under arms: all the
 rest were dispersed in the country, where some passed
 their time in diverting themselves, while the rest sought
 the cool places and shade, to eat, drink, and sleep in
 at their ease. Diophanes, having observed the state
 of the enemy from the top of the walls, ordered his
 troops to take arms, and to hold themselves in readi-
 nefs at the gate of the city to execute the orders he
 should give them. During this space he went to At-
 talus, and told him he intended to make a sally upon
 the enemy. Attalus made no small difficulties to
 consent to it, as he was to act with only a thou-

* A city of Mysia.

stand foot against four thousand, and with an hundred horse against three hundred. Diophanes marched out, and posted himself not far from the besiegers, waiting the occasion to fall upon them with advantage. Those who were in the city, considered the enterprize of Diophanes as phrenzy, and not as the effect of prudent courage and just boldness; and the enemy themselves cast their eyes upon his troops with indifference enough; and seeing that they made no motion, did not depart from their usual indolence, making a jest of the handful of men, which they saw appear. Diophanes kept his troops quiet some time, as if they had only quitted the city out of curiosity, and to see what passed without the walls. But when he observed, that the enemy did not keep on their guard, he set forward like lightning at the head of his horse, after having ordered his foot to follow with the utmost expedition, and to raise great cries, and fell with great impetuosity upon the enemy's posts, who expected nothing so little. So sudden an attack, accompanied with menacing cries, not only frightened the men, but the horses, who breaking their halters, by their flight increased the disorder and confusion of the besiegers. It even was not easy to saddle, bridle, and mount those, whom the flight had not dispersed; the Achæan horse having occasioned a confusion amongst them, that could not have been expected from so small a number. The infantry in its turn falling upon the enemy dispersed on all sides; and half asleep, made a great slaughter of them, and put those who escaped their swords to the rout. Diophanes having pursued them as far as possible without exposing himself, returned triumphant into the city, after having signalized the valour of the Achæan nation, and acquired the esteem of all the inhabitants of Pergamus, who, both men and women, had seen the action from their walls.

This event well shews the difference between brave, experienced, and vigilant officers, intent upon their duty, such as Diophanes the deserving pupil
of

A. R. 562.
Ant. C.
190.

A. R. 562. of Philopœmen was ; and warriors, who were only
 Ant. C. so in name, enervated by voluptuousness, regardless
 190. of every thing but drinking and diversions, incapable of the least fatigues, and little affected with the sense of honour, and still less with the success of their service.

The morrow after this first salley, when both sides had continued facing each other almost the whole day without acting, the Syrians having retired a little before sunset, Diophanes fell upon them again suddenly, as he had done the day before, put them all to flight, and handled their rear-guard very roughly, none facing about to make head against him. This boldness of the Achæans at length reduced Seleucus to raise the siege of Pergamus, and to abandon the country.

Antiochus being informed, that the Romans with Eumenes were arrived to aid Adramyttium, removed from that city, but ravaged the whole country round about it. After having taken some places of small importance, he retired to Sardis.

Liv. The Roman fleet returned to Elæa, from which it
 xxxvii. 22 had set out. Eumenes was then sent home, and
 —24. directed to prepare all the necessary means for passing the Hellespont. The Rhodians posted themselves in the road near Rhodes, to prevent the passage of the enemy's fleet, which was said to have set out from Syria. A second squadron, sent from Rhodes against the same fleet, and commanded by Pamphilidas, joined the first, of which Eudamus was Admiral. These two squadrons when joined formed a fleet of thirty six galleys, thirty-two of four benches of oars, and four of three. That of Antiochus consisted of thirty-seven large ships, of which three were of seven benches, four of six, besides ten *triremes*, or ships of three benches. The two fleets met upon the coasts of Pamphilia. As soon as the Rhodians had doubled the promontory, which projects from Sida into the sea, they perceived the enemy, and were descried by them. Hannibal commanded the left wing
 of

of the royal fleet on the side of the main sea : Apollonius, one of the principal officers of Antiochus, commanded the right. The battle ensued. The Rhodians, who were alone in this action, had all the honour of it. By the goodness of their galleys, and the address of their seamen, they beat the enemy. They even drove Hannibal into the port of Megistus in the neighbourhood of Patara, and blocked him up so effectually there, that it was impossible for him to act in any manner for the service of the King.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C.
190.

Antiochus received the news of this defeat almost at the same time that he was informed the Roman Consul was advancing by long marches in Macedonia, and that he was preparing to come to Asia, by the Hellespont. He then plainly saw the impending danger, and made haste to take all possible measures to prevent it.

He sent Ambassadors to Prusias King of Bithynia, Liv. xxxvii.25. to inform him, that the Romans were preparing to enter Asia. They were instructed to make him sensible of the effects of this enterprize, and to represent to him in the strongest manner, “ That their sole design was to abolish regal power, in order to reign over the Universe alone. That after having conquered and subjected Nabis and Philip, their aim was now against him (Antiochus.) That if he had the misfortune to be overpowered, the fire gradually gaining ground would soon reach Bithynia. That as to Eumenes, he had nothing to expect from him, as he had put the chains on himself, and had voluntarily submitted to slavery.”

These motives had made an impression upon Prusias: but the letters which he received at the same time from the Consul Scipio and his brother, very much conduced to dispel all these suspicions and fears. “ The latter represented the perpetual custom of the Roman People to heap honours and advantages upon the Kings who cultivated their alliance : and he cited examples of this kind, in which he had had a great share. He observed that in Spain, several, from petty Princes

A. R. 562.
Ant. C.
190.

Princes as they were before, were become great Kings, since they had put themselves under the protection of the Romans. That he had not contented himself with restoring Masinissa the kingdom of his fathers, but that he had added to it the dominions of Syphax, by whom he had been before deprived of his own; so that he was not only the richest and most powerful of the Kings of Africa, but there was not another in the whole universe, who could be compared with him for greatness, power, and splendor. That Philip and Nabis, after having been conquered in war by Quintius, had been left upon the throne. That the year before, the tribute Philip had engaged to pay, had been remitted to him, and his son, who had been kept as an hostage at Rome, sent home; and that that Prince himself had conquered several cities out of Macedonia, without being opposed by the Roman Generals. That Nabis would still possess supreme power, if his own madness, and the perfidy of the Ætolians had not put an end to his life."

The arrival of Livius, who had before commanded the fleet, and whom the Roman People had sent to Prusias in quality of Ambassador, finally determined him. He shewed on which side it was reasonable to presume victory would declare, and how much safer it was for him to confide in the amity of the Romans, than in that of Antiochus.

Liv.
xxxvii. 29,
30.

Antiochus, disappointed in the hope he had conceived of bringing over Prusias to his party, had no thoughts but of opposing the passage of the Romans into Asia, to prevent it from becoming the theatre of the war. He believed, that the best means for succeeding in this, was to recover the empire of the sea, which he had almost entirely lost by the loss of the two battles I have related. That he should then be in a condition to employ his fleets where he pleased; and that it would be impossible for the enemy to cross the strait of the Hellespont, and to transport their army into Asia, when his fleets should have nothing to do but to prevent it. He therefore resolved to venture

another battle; and in order to that he repaired from Sardis to Ephesus, where his fleet lay. He reviewed it, put it in the best condition he could, abundantly supplied it with all that was necessary for a new action, and sent it again under the command of Polyxenidas in quest of the enemy, and to give them battle. What principally determined him to take this resolution, was his having received advice, that a great part of the Rhodian fleet had remained near Patara to besiege it, and that King Eumenes was gone to meet the Consul at the Chersonesus with all his ships.

Polyxenidas found Æmilius and the Roman fleet near Myonnesus, a maritime city of Ionia. The Romans had fourscore galleys, including the two and twenty of the Rhodians. Antiochus's fleet consisted of ninety ships, amongst which were three of six and two of seven benches of oars. The Romans had the superiority over the Syrians in the strength of their ships and the valour of their soldiers; and the Rhodians by the nimbleness of their galleys, the experience of their pilots, and the dexterity of their rowers. But what gave the enemy most terror, were the fires which they saw in the Rhodian vessels; an invention used before with success by the latter, and which gained them the victory upon this occasion. For the King's galleys not daring to present their heads to those of the enemy which were armed with fire, turned aside to avoid them, and thereby received in flank the strokes of their beaks, which they were not in a condition to return; and if any of them presented that part, it was filled with the flames, which they dreaded much more than the arms of the enemy. But the valour of the soldiers contributed more than all things else to the victory of the Romans. For the Prætor having broke through the main body of the Syrians, by taking a compass, fell upon the rear of those engaged with the Rhodians; and immediately the galleys of Antiochus, invested both in the centre and left wing, were either taken or sunk. Those who were in the right wing still sustained the fight, more terrified with

A. R. 562,
Ant. C.
190.

A. R. 562. with the misfortune of their companions, than by
 Ant. C. any loss they had hitherto suffered themselves. But
 190. when they saw that the greatest part of the fleet was
 surrounded, and that the Admiral galley of Polyxe-
 nidas made off, leaving the rest in danger, they im-
 mediately hoisted their small sails, and fled to Ephesus
 with a fair wind. Polyxenidas lost in this battle forty-
 two ships, of which the Romans took thirteen, and ei-
 ther burnt or sunk the rest. On the side of the Romans,
 there were two sunk, and some others a little shattered.
 One Rhodian galley was taken. This was the event of
 the battle of Myonnesus.

S E C T. III.

Antiochus, in his confusion for the loss of the naval battle, abandons the passage of the Hellespont to the Romans. Reflexion upon the imprudence and blindness of Antiochus. He draws together as many troops as he can. Æmilius sends gallies for the Consul's passage. He besieges Phocæa, which surrenders. The Consul passes the Hellespont, and enters Asia. Antiochus sends proposals of peace to the Romans. His Ambassador endeavours to gain Scipio Africanus by considerable offers. Fine answer of Scipio. Antiochus prepares for the war. He sends Scipio's son to him. The Consul marches in quest of the King to give him battle. The armies draw up in battle on both sides. Chariots armed with scythes. Battle fought near Magnesia. The King's army is defeated and cut to pieces. The cities of Asia-Minor surrender to the Romans. Antiochus demands peace. Speech of his Ambassadors. Answer of Scipio Africanus. Conditions of peace imposed upon the King. Eumenes sets out for Rome with the Ambassadors. Cotta gives the Senate and people of Rome an account of the victory gained over Antiochus. Audience granted Antiochus's Ambassadors. Treaty of peace ratified. Ten commissioners appointed to regulate the affairs of Asia. Principal conditions of the treaty. Naval triumph

triumph of Regillus. L. Scipio, on his return to Rome, is surnamed ASIATICUS, and has the honour of a triumph. The conquest of Asia introduces luxury into Rome. Reflexions upon the conduct of the Romans in respect to the Grecian Commonwealths, and of the Kings both of Europe and Asia; and at the same time upon the relation which all those events have to the establishment of the Christian Church.

THE loss of the sea-fight near Myonnesus so much affected Antiochus, that he seemed entirely confounded by it. As if reason had abandoned him on a sudden, he immediately took measures manifestly contrary to his interests. In his consternation, he sent orders for his troops to retire from Lyfimachia, and the other cities of the Hellespont, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy, who were marching that way in order to enter Asia; whereas it would have been necessary to send them thither, if they had not been there before; because That was the only means to prevent their passage, or at least to retard it. For Lyfimachia, which was a very well fortified place, was capable of sustaining a long siege, and perhaps of holding out till the winter was much advanced, which would have incommoded the enemy exceedingly by the want of provisions and forage: and in the mean time he might have found means for accommodating with the Romans, not to mention all the unforeseen advantages, that time might have produced.

He not only committed a great fault in withdrawing his troops from thence at a time when they were most necessary there, but he did it with so much precipitation, that all the ammunition and provisions were left behind, of which he had laid up considerable magazines. In consequence, when the Romans made themselves masters of them, they found all the provisions their army had occasion for, in as great abundance as if they had been purposely laid up for them, and the passage of the Hellespont was so open

A. R. 562. and easy, that they transported their army without the
Ant. C. least opposition.
190:

Isai. iii.
1, 2, 3.

App. in
Syr. 104.

We here plainly see what is so often inculcated in the scripture, that when God intends to punish and destroy a kingdom, he deprives its King, governors, or ministers, of counsel, prudence, and courage. He menaces his people thus by Isaiah. “ For behold the
“ Lord, the Lord of Hosts doth take away from Je-
“ rusalem, and from Judah, the stay and the staff—
“ the mighty man, and the man of war, the judge
“ and the prophet, and the prudent and the antient
“ —the honourable man, the counsellor—and the
“ eloquent orator.” But it is very remarkable, that the Pagan historian says here in express terms, and repeats it twice, “ That * God deprived the King of
“ sense and reason; a punishment,” says he, “ that
“ always happens, when men are upon the point of
“ falling into some great misfortune.” He deprives him, that is to say, he takes from him presence of mind, prudence, and judgment: he divests him of all salutary thoughts; he makes him in a manner distracted, and even averse to all the good counsels that can be given him.

This is what David asked of God in respect to Ahithophel Absalom’s counsellor: “ O Lord, I pray thee, “ turn the counsels of Ahithophel into foolishness.” However wise his advice may be, make it seem foolish and absurd to Absalom. And this was what happened. — “ For the Lord had appointed to defeat the
“ good counsel of Ahithophel,” TO THE INTENT THAT THE LORD MIGHT BRING THE EVIL UPON ABSALOM, which he deserved.

In all ages happen the like events, so evidently marked with the hand of God, that the most stupid and irreligious of men cannot help acknowledging providence in them.

Liv. After the naval battle, Antiochus retired to Sardis,
xxxvii. 31. from whence he sent Ambassadors into Cappadocia.

* Οὗτος βλάπτειτο, ἥδη τὰς λογισμὰς, ὅπερ ἅπανσι, προσέειπεν ἀτυχημάτων ἐπιγίγνεται, ὁ μὴ ὅτι τὸν διάπλον ἐξύλαξεν ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας. App.

King Ariarathes to demand aid, and into all the other parts, from whence he had reason to hope any, being solely ingrossed by the design of giving the Romans battle by land.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C.
190.

The Prætor Æmilius set sail for Chios (or Scio) and after having refitted his ships that had suffered, he sent L. Æmilius Scaurus to the Hellespont with thirty galleys, to carry the Consul's army to Asia. He left the Rhodians at liberty to return home, after having divided the spoils with them taken from the enemy by sea and land. But before they made use of the Prætor's permission to retire, they were desirous to render the Romans service, in assisting the Consul to transport his troops into Asia, and they did not return to Rhodes, till after this new proof of their zeal.

In the mean time Æmilius had formed the siege of Phocæa. The city, after having long defended itself, at length opened its gates to the Romans, upon condition that the inhabitants should not be treated as enemies. But the rage and avarice of the soldiers prevailed over the Prætor's authority, and notwithstanding his prohibition the city was plundered.

The Consul arrived at length at Lyfimachia, which he found abandoned by the army, and full of provisions of all kinds. He rested there some days, to wait the arrival of the baggage and sick men which he had been obliged to leave in several forts of Thrace. When the whole was come up, they resumed their march, and arrived upon the banks of the Hellespont; and with the aid of Eumenes, who had made all the necessary preparations, they passed from the other side without tumult and confusion, as if the question had been to enter an Ally's country, and without any resistance. It was matter of great joy and confidence to the Romans to find the passage to Asia open in this manner, where they expected that they should have great difficulties and dangers to encounter.

They remained during some time on the banks of the Hellespont, because it was the time when the

A. R. 562. Salii carried the sacred shields in procession at Rome, on which days it was not allowed to travel. This reason, which regarded Scipio Africanus in a still more particular manner, because he was himself of the number of the Salii, had prevented him from following the army, which was against setting out till he had rejoined it.

Liv.
xxxvii.
Polyb in
Excerpt.
Legat.
c. 23.
Appian.
in Syr.
p. 105
—110.

When Antiochus knew, that the Romans had passed the Strait, he began to believe himself undone. He then desired to be delivered from a war, in which he had improperly engaged, and without having maturely considered all the consequences. He therefore thought of sending an Embassy to the Romans, to propose conditions of peace to them. All that Prince had heard of the character of Scipio Africanus, of his greatness of soul, generosity, and clemency, in regard to the conquered States as well of Spain as Africa, gave him hopes, that that great man, satiated with glory, would make no great difficulties to come into an accommodation: and the rather as he had a present to make him, to which he could not but be infinitely sensible. This was his own son, who was very young, and had been taken in the beginning of the war, and put into the hands of Antiochus. Neither the time nor the occasion when this happened are exactly known; but it is certain, that if that Prince had been at peace with the Roman People, and the Scipios had been under particular engagements of friendship and hospitality with him, young Scipio could not have been treated at his court with more politeness, benevolence, and distinction.

It was during this halt of the troops, that Heraclides of Byzantium, Ambassador from Antiochus, arrived in the camp of the Romans. Having been informed, that Scipio Africanus was absent, he would not be introduced to the Consul. As soon as the person he expected arrived, he demanded audience, which was immediately granted him. Being admitted into the council, he began by saying, "That what had rendered the other negotiations of peace ineffectual be-

tween

tween his master and the Romans, made him hope good success from this; because all the difficulties which had cut them short at that time, were now removed. That the King, to leave no room to complain, that he was for retaining any thing in Europe, had abandoned Lyfimachia. That as to Smyrna, Lampfacus and Alexandria in Troas, he was ready to cede those cities to the Romans, and every other city which they should demand, as in alliance with their Commonwealth. That he consented to pay the Roman People one half of the expences of the war. He concluded, with exhorting them to remember the inconstancy of human things, and not to rely too much upon their present prosperity. That they ought to be satisfied with making Europe the boundary of their empire, which was of immense extent. That if they absolutely insisted upon adding some part of Asia to it, the King would have moderation enough to consent to it, provided the limits of it were clearly expressed and settled."

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Ant. C.
190.

The Ambassador imagined that proposals so advantageous and reasonable in his sense, could not be rejected: but the Romans did not judge of them in the same manner. "As to the expences of the war, as it had been unjustly undertaken by the King, they thought it reason, that he should pay the whole. Neither were they satisfied with his making his garrisons evacuate Ionia and Æolia. Their view was to reinstate the liberty of all Asia, as they had of all Greece: which could not be done, if the King did not abandon all Asia on this side of mount Taurus."

Heraclides, very much dissatisfied with this public audience, and not being able to consent to conditions, that much exceeded his powers, endeavoured, according to the orders he had received, to bring over Scipio Africanus in particular. He declared to him above all, that the King would restore his son to him without ransom. Then, little knowing Scipio's greatness of soul, and the Roman character, he assured him

Liv.
xxxvii 36.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C.
190.

that if he could obtain peace for Antiochus, that Prince would give him whatever sums he should think fit, and divide authority with him in the government of his dominions, reserving to himself only the name of King; or, if we follow Polybius, who expresses this more modestly, that he would divide the revenues of his kingdom with him.

Scipio answered in terms to this effect: "I do not wonder that you little know Scipio and the Romans in general, as you do not so much as know the condition of the Prince who has sent you to us. If you pretend, that the uncertainty of success should incline us to grant you peace more easily, your master should have kept possession of Lysimachia, to prevent us from entering the Chersonesus, or should have come to meet us in the Hellespont, to have disputed our passage into Asia. But, as he has abandoned it to us, he has received the curb and the yoke. * Amongst the offers he makes me, that of restoring me my son cannot but very sensibly affect me. As to the rest, I beg the Gods, that the state of my fortune may dispense with the want of them: at least my heart will never think of them as necessary, and I hope they never will be capable of tempting me. If Antiochus, in return for a private favour, requires only a private acknowledgment, I shall make him sensible, that I am not ungrateful: but, as a public man, he must expect nothing from me, as it is my duty to receive nothing from him. All that I can now do is to give him salutary counsel, as a good and faithful friend. Go therefore, and tell him from me, to lay down his arms, and not to refuse any of the conditions of peace proposed to him."

Antiochus could not relish such proposals, and believed he should run no risque in hazarding a battle, as it would not be possible after he had lost it, to im-

* Ego ex munificentia regia maximum donum filium habebo: aliis deos precor, ne unquam fortuna egeat mea; animus certe non egebit.

pose harder conditions upon him. Accordingly re-
nouncing all thoughts of an accommodation, his sole
intention now was to prepare for war.

The Consul seeing nothing now that ought to delay
him, continued his march, and arrived at Ilion. The
Romans considered that city as the cradle of their
origin, and as their primitive country, from whence
Æneas had set out to settle in Italy. The Consul
offered sacrifices to Minerva, who presided in the ci-
tadel. The joy was equal on both sides, almost like
that of fathers and children, who meet after a long
separation. The inhabitants of that city seeing their
descendants, conquerors of Africa and the West,
come now to resume Asia, as a kingdom, which had
belonged to their forefathers, imagined that they saw
Ilium rising out of its ashes, and born again more illus-
trious than ever. The Romans, on their side, felt an
infinite joy from seeing themselves in the antient abode
of their fathers, who had given birth to Rome, and to
contemplate in it the temples and statues of the divi-
nities common to them with that city.

Having set out from thence, they arrived in six days
at the source of the river Caycus. The King was in-
camped in the neighbourhood of Thyatira. He was
informed there, that P. Scipio had been carried sick
to Elæa; whither he sent him his son. The sight of
so dear an object made an impression both on his body
and mind, in restoring joy and health to that sick and
afflicted father. After having long embraced his son,
and satisfied the first transports of paternal tenderness,
“Go,” said he to the Ambassadors “go, and assure
“the King that I am extremely sensible of his gene-
“rous attention, and tell him, that at present I can
“give him no other proof of my gratitude, than in
“advising him not to think of fighting, before he
“knows that I am arrived in the camp.” Perhaps
Scipio was in hopes that a delay of some days would
give the King time to make more serious reflections
than he had done hitherto, and to think of concluding

A. R. 562. a solid peace. For of what service could his presence
 Ant. C. have been to the King in a battle?
 190.

Though the superiority of Antiochus's troops in point of number to those of the Romans, was a strong motive with him for hazarding a battle without delay; however, the authority of such a person as Scipio, upon whom he had always relied in case of any unfortunate accident, prevailed in his thoughts. He passed the river of Phrygia, (the Hyllus according to Strabo) posted himself near Magnesia at the foot of mount Sipylus, where he fortified his camp so as to secure it from insult.

Liv. The Consul followed him close thither. The ar-
 xxxvii. 37. mies were several days in view; but Antiochus did not make his quit his camp. It consisted of seventy thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and fifty-four elephants. The Romans had in all but thirty thousand men and sixteen elephants. The Consul seeing, that the King made no motion, assembled his council to deliberate upon the measure he should take, in case he should persist in avoiding to come to blows. He represented, "that the winter approaching, it would be necessary, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, to keep the soldiers incamped; or if they went into winter-quarters, to refer the decision of the war to the year following." Never did the Romans shew so much contempt for an enemy as on this occasion. They all cried out, that it was necessary to march immediately against the enemy, and to take advantage of the ardor of the soldiers, who were all ready to pass the fosses and storm the palisades, in order to attack them in their camp, if he did not quit it. Perhaps the Consul was desirous to act before the arrival of his brother, whose presence would have much diminished his glory.

Ibid. 39,
 40.

The next day, after the situation of the enemy's camp had been viewed, the Consul made his army approach it drawn up in battle. The King, fearing that a longer delay might discourage his troops, and
 aug.

augment the boldness of the enemy, at length made them march out. In consequence both sides prepared for an action, which was to be decisive.

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190.

In the Consul's army all was uniform enough both as to men and arms. It consisted of two Roman legions, each of five thousand four hundred men, and two the like bodies of Latine troops. The Romans were posted in the centre, and the Latines on the two wings, the left of which was sustained by the river. The first line of the centre was composed of the Hastati: the second, of the Principes; and the third, of the Triarii. And this, properly speaking, was what formed the main body. On the side of the left wing, to cover and sustain it, the Consul had posted almost on the same line three thousand Achæan infantry and auxiliary troops of Eumenes; and next to them somewhat less than three thousand horse, eight hundred of which were the troops of Eumenes, and the rest Roman or Latine. He placed five hundred light-armed Trallians or Cretans at the extremity of this wing. The left wing did not seem to have occasion for such a reinforcement, because it was judged, that the river and its banks, which were very steep, sufficiently defended it. He however posted four companies of horse here. Two thousand soldiers were left to guard the camp, which were Macedonians and Thracians, that had voluntarily followed the army. The sixteen elephants were left behind the Triarii, to serve as a corps de reserve and a rear-guard. It was not thought proper to oppose them to those of the enemy, not only because the latter were much more numerous, (fifty-four to sixteen) but because the elephants of Africa, the only ones the Romans had, were much inferior both in bigness and strength to those of India, and could not sustain their charge.

The King's army was more various from the diversity of nations and the difference of arms. Sixteen thousand foot, armed after the Macedonian manner, composed the main battle. This phalanx was divided into ten small bodies, the front of each consist-

ing

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190.

ing of fifty men by thirty-two in depth ; and in each of the spaces between them two elephants were placed. This constituted the principal strength of the army. The sight only of the elephants gave terror. They were very large, and seemed more so from the ornaments of their heads and their plumes, in which, gold, silver, purple, and ivory glittered : vain ornaments, which invite the enemy, by the hope of spoils, and do not defend an army. These elephants carried towers upon their backs, with four combatants in them, not including the guide. On the right side of this phalanx were drawn up upon the same line part of the horse : viz. fifteen hundred Gauls of Asia, (called Gallo-Græci by the Romans, and Galatæ by the Greeks) three thousand Cuirassiers armed at all points ; (Cataphracti) a thousand other horse, which were the flower of the Medes and other neighbouring people. Next them, and at some distance from them, were placed a troop of sixteen elephants to support them. On the same side, extending the same wing, was posted the King's regiment, consisting of Argyraspides, so called because they had silver bucklers. Beyond them, twelve hundred horse-archers of the Dahæ, with which were joined two thousand five hundred others of the Mysians. Then three thousand light-armed troops, partly Cretans, partly Trallians. This wing was closed by four thousand slingers and archers, half Cyrtæans and half Elymæans. The left wing was disposed and strengthened almost as the right, except that before part of the cavalry were placed waggons armed with scyths, and beasts called dromedaries, with Arabian archers upon them, who had small swords six feet long for reaching the enemy from the backs of those animals. The King commanded the right ; Seleucus his son, and Antipater his nephew, the left ; and three Lieutenant Generals the main body.

A fog which rose in the morning, covered the two armies with thick darkness : then a south-wind brought on a wet mist, which spread over the whole plain.

plain. These two inconveniences did not much hurt the Romans, but were very incommodious to, and much against, the King's troops. For the former occupying only a moderate extent of country, could however see each other; and their arms, which were for the most part solid and heavy, were not at all damaged by the humidity. But the different parts of Antiochus's army were so remote, that the two extremities were so far from being able to see each other, that even those in the centre could not distinguish what passed on the two wings, and the damp had relaxed the strings of their bows and slings to such a degree, and the thongs of their javelins, that it was not possible for them to make use of them.

Besides this, the cars armed with scyths, by which Antiochus was in hopes of spreading terror and disorder amongst the troops of the enemy, began the confusion of his own. The form of these cars was as follows. From the midst of the pole issued ten points of iron about a cubit long, (a foot and an half) intended to break and pierce whatever came before it. On each side of the yoke or seat were two scyths, the one level with the seat itself, and the other turned towards the ground; the first to cut obliquely, the other to cut those from top to bottom who should have fallen, or should endeavour to creep under. And lastly, at the axes of each wheel two more scyths were fastened, in the same situation and for the same effect. Antiochus conceiving, that if he placed these cars in the rear or the centre, the drivers of them would be obliged to make them pass through his troops, posted them in the front, as we have said already.

Eumenes, who was acquainted with this kind of combat, and how doubtful an aid it was, if care was taken to frighten the horses who drew the cars, rather than to attack them close, ordered the Cretan archers, the slingers, and the horse armed with javelins, not to go all in a body against them, but divided in small platoons, and to shower their darts upon them from all sides, raising great cries at the same time.

His

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Ant. C.
190.

Liv.
xxxvii. 41.

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Ant. C.

190.

Liv.

xxxvii.

41—44.

His orders were executed, and had all the success he expected. As soon as those cars set forwards, and this was in a manner the prelude of the battle, the horses which drew them, terrified with the horrid cries raised on all sides, and overwhelmed with stones, darts, and javelins, took the bridle in their teeth, ran away in disorder on every side in the space between the two armies without feeling the reins, and turned against their own troops, as well as against the camels. This empty bugbear being thus dispersed, the armies came to blows.

But this first terror soon occasioned the loss of the King's whole army. For the troops, who were near these cars, terrified by the disorder and fright of the horses, fled themselves, and left all uncovered and without defence quite as far as the Cuirassiers. The latter, attacked by the Roman cavalry, could not sustain the charge, and broke that instant, many remaining upon the place, because the weight of their arms would not admit them to escape by flight. The whole left wing was put to the rout, and carried disorder and consternation as far as the main body formed by the phalanx.

The Roman legions then attacked it with advantage, the phalanx not being able to use their long pikes, because the flying troops fell in amongst them, and hindered them from acting, whilst the Romans discharged their javelins upon them from all sides. The elephants disposed in the intervals of the phalanx, were of no aid to them. The Roman soldiers, accustomed in the wars of Africa to fight with those animals, had learnt how to evade their impetuosity, either in piercing their flanks with their javelins, or, if they could approach them, by cutting their hams with their swords. The first ranks of the phalanx were then put in disorder, and the Romans had already begun to cut the rear in pieces, which had been surrounded, when they were informed that their left wing was in great danger.

The Consul, convinced that his left would be sufficiently defended by the steep banks of the river, had sustained it with only four companies of cavalry, who had even removed from the river to join the rest of the army. Antiochus, from the right where he commanded, perceived this opening, and moved thither to attack the enemy with his auxiliary troops and heavy-armed cavalry; and he not only pushed the Romans in front, but filing off on the side of the river, began to take them in flank. The Roman cavalry having been put in disorder, and taken to flight, the infantry soon followed it, and did not stop till they arrived in sight of their camp.

M. Æmilius, the military Tribune, had remained there to guard it. When he saw the Romans come flying thither, he went out with all his troops to meet them, reproaching them with their cowardice and shameful flight. He did more, and ordered his troops to kill the first of those they met flying without mercy, that should refuse to face about. This order, given in time, and punctually executed, had all its effect. The greater dread surmounted the less. The flying soldiers first stopped, and then returned to the battle. Æmilius, with his body of troops, which consisted of two thousand men, all brave and enured to war, opposed the King, who vigorously pursued those that fled. Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, upon the advice he received of the disorder of the left wing, flew to it, and arrived seasonably with two hundred horse. Antiochus, seeing that those he pursued before, returned to the charge, and that the troops who arrived, some from the camp, and others from the battle, were upon the point of pushing him on all sides, turned his back in his turn, and retired with precipitation.

The Romans being thus victorious on the right and left wings, passing over the heaps of dead bodies, especially in the centre, where they had found most resistance, in effect of the bravery of the troops, and where the flight had been most difficult through the weight of the arms, ran towards the camp of the defeated

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feated to plunder it. The horse of Eumenes first, and afterwards those of the Consul, pursued the enemy in the plain, killing all that fell into their hands. But what was most pernicious to the flying troops, was meeting the cars, elephants, and camels. For being dispersed on all sides, and throwing down one another through their eagerness to escape the victor, they were crushed under the feet of those animals. More were killed in the camp than in the battle. For it was thither flight carried most of the defeated, and they fought with most obstinacy there before the intrenchments, in hopes of being sustained by those that had been left in the camp to guard it. In consequence the Romans, who had expected to carry it on the first assault, enraged with having been stopt so long at the gates, shed more blood than they would have done, had they entered it sooner.

Antiochus lost fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse in this battle. The number of the prisoners amounted to only fourteen hundred men. Fifteen elephants were also taken with their guides. Many were wounded on the side of the Romans; but they left only three hundred foot and fourscore horse upon the spot. Eumenes lost only twenty-five of his troops. The next day they stript the dead of their spoils, and assembled their prisoners.

It is observed, that one of the causes of the loss of this battle, was the manner in which the King had drawn up his phalanx. It constituted the principal strength of his army, and had hitherto passed for invincible. It consisted solely of old, warlike, robust soldiers, full of vigour and courage. In order therefore to have enabled them to do him most service, he should have given them less depth and more front; whereas by drawing them up two-and-thirty deep, he rendered half of them useless, and posted new-raised troops upon the rest of the front, without courage or experience, in which he ought to have placed no confidence. Antiochus, in this, had however only followed the method observed by Philip and Alexander,

der, who drew up their phalanx in the same manner. But in process of time, able Generals reduced the depth to sixteen, and even to eight, according to the exigency of different cases and different occasions.

The fruit of this victory gained at Magnesia near Sipylus, was the surrender of all the cities of Asia Minor, which came either immediately, or soon after, to submit to the Romans. Neither Hannibal nor Scipio were present in this battle. The first was blocked up by the Rhodians in Pamphylia, and the other continued sick at Elæa.

Antiochus having fled with some of his people, arrived about midnight at Sardis with a small number of troops, which he had picked up on his way. There, being informed that his son Seleucus, and some of the grandees of his court, had retired to Apamæa, he set out towards the end of the night for that place with his wife and daughter. They soon after passed Mount Taurus with the utmost diligence to enter Syria.

The Consul had already arrived at Sardis, where his brother P. Scipio joined him, having set out as soon as his health would permit. It was there that a trumpet from Antiochus came to desire Scipio Africanus to prevail upon the Consul his brother, that that Prince might send Ambassadors to him, which was granted him. Some days after the King sent Zeuxis, who had been governor of Lydia, and Antipater his nephew. They applied first to Eumenes, whom they believed the most averse to peace on account of the antient quarrels between him and Antiochus. But having found him more tractable than either they or the King had expected, they went to P. Scipio, who presented them to the Consul. That General assembled his whole council to give them audience, and when they were introduced to them: "Romans, (said Zeuxis) without seeking to excuse ourselves, we only ask you what we are to do to expiate the imprudence into which Antiochus has fallen, and to induce you to forgive him, and grant him peace.

"You

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Ant. C.
190.

Liv.
xxxvii. 45.

Liv, *ibid.*

A. R. 562. " You have always with generosity and greatness of
 Ant. C. 290. " soul pardoned the Kings and States you have over-
 " come. How much more ought you to do so now
 " after a victory, which renders you masters of the
 " Universe? * Laying aside all animosity against
 " mortals, you should have no thoughts for the fu-
 " ture; but, after the example of the Gods, to par-
 " don and do good to mankind."

Liv. Before the Ambassadors arrived, the answer of the
 xxxvii. 45. Romans was ready. P. Scipio, who was appointed
 to make it, spoke to them to the following effect:
 " † Of all the things, which are naturally dependant
 " on the Gods, we possess only those which they
 " have vouchsafed to bestow. As to our courage,
 " which depends only upon us, it has always been the
 " same, in whatsoever situation we have been. As
 " ill fortune has never been able to depress it, pro-
 " perity is not capable of exalting it. To prove what
 " I say, I might mention the example of your Han-
 " nibal, if I had not your own to set before you.
 " When we had passed the Hellespont, before we had
 " seen your camp and army, whilst the event of the
 " war was still uncertain, you came to treat with us of
 " peace. Now the same conditions, which we then
 " proposed to you, when things were equal on both
 " sides, we now propose again, when you are de-
 " feated and we victorious. You shall abandon all
 " you possess in Europe, and in Asia on this side of
 " Mount Taurus. You shall give us, for the charges
 " of the war, fifteen thousand ‡ Euboic talents, five
 " hundred down, and two thousand five hundred
 " when the Senate and People of Rome shall have
 " ratified the treaty. You shall pay the remaining

* *Positis jam adversus omnes mortales certaminibus, haud secus, quam deos, consulere & parcere vos generi humano oportet.* Liv.

† *Romani, ex iis quæ in deum immortalium potestate erant, ea habemus, quæ dii dederunt. Animos, qui nostræ mentis sunt, eosdem in omni fortuna gessimus, gerimusque: neque eos secundæ res extulerunt, nec adversæ minuerunt.* Liv.

‡ Fifteen Attic talents would be about two millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling: Those of Eubœa were something less.

" twelve

“ twelve thousand in twelve equal annual payments. A. R. 562.
 “ It is also just, that you should pay Eumenes * four Ant. C.
 “ hundred talents, and the rest of the corn, which was 190.
 “ due to his father. When you have accepted these
 “ conditions, that we may rely upon your executing
 “ them, you shall give us twenty hostages, which we
 “ shall chuse. But the Roman People can never be
 “ assured of being at peace with a Prince, who keeps
 “ Hannibal at his court. We therefore previously to
 “ all things demand that you deliver him up to us,
 “ as well as Thoas the Ætolian, who has most con-
 “ tributed in exciting this war. The King, by de-
 “ laying too long, will make peace when his fortune
 “ is become more precarious. If he delays longer,
 “ † let him know, that it is more difficult to make
 “ the fortune of Kings descend from its greatest
 “ height to a middling condition, than to precipi-
 “ tate it from the latter to the lowest state.”

Scipio's discourse begins with a maxim, which
 seems great, but is really so only through pride. This
 distinction between external goods, dependant upon
 Providence, and those of the soul, dependant solely up-
 on human will, is the constant and almost universal
 opinion of the Pagan world. Cicero explains himself
 on this head still much more strongly by the mouth of
 Cotta, who, as well as himself, was of the sect of the
 Academics. “ All † men, says he, are convinced,
 that they hold all fortuitous and exterior goods from
 the Gods, as well as all the conveniences of life, but
 not virtue. Was there ever man who thanked the
 Gods, that he was a good man? No certainly: but
 the Gods are thanked for riches, honours, and health.

De Nat.
 Deor. XI.
 86, 87.

* Four hundred thousand crowns.

† Sciat regum majestatem difficilius à summo fastigio ad medium
 detrahi, quam à mediis ad ima precipitari. Liv.

‡ Hoc quidem omnes mortales sic habent, externas commoditates—
 à diis se habere: virtutem autem nemo unquam acceptam deo retulit.
 —Num quis quod bonus vir esset, gratias diis egit unquam? At, quod
 dives, quod honoratus, quod incolumis. Jovemque optimum, maxi-
 mum, ob eas res appellant, non quod nos justos, temperantes, sapien-
 tes efficiat, sed quod salvos, incolumes, opulentos, copiosos.

- A. R. 562. Jupiter is called most good, most potent, not because
 Ant. C. he makes us just, prudent, wise; but because he af-
 190. fords us protection, safety, riches, and health." This
 Epist. 18. Horace also thought, which he expressed, in few
 lib. i. words, in these two lines :

*Sed satis est orare Jovem, quæ donat & aufert.
 Det vitam, det opes : æquum mihi animum ipse parabo.*

These are the sentiments men derive from the corruption of their nature, which is averse to suffering the just dependance, wherein the creature is in respect to God in all things in general and without exception.

- Liv. The Ambassadors of Antiochus had orders to ac-
 xxxvii.45. cept all the conditions the Romans should think fit to prescribe : so that there was nothing farther in question on the King's part, but to send Ambassadors to Rome. The Consul distributed his troops into the cities of Magnesia upon the Meander, of Tralles, and Ephesus, to quarter there during the winter. Some days after the hostages he had demanded of the King, were brought him to the last place. Eumenes set out for Rome at the same time with that Prince's Ambassadors ; and they were followed by those of all the different States of Asia.

As soon as Hannibal and Thoas were apprized that a treaty was negotiating, rightly judging that they should be sacrificed, both provided for their safety, before it was concluded.

A. R. 563. M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
 Ant. C. CN. MANLIUS VULSO.
 189.

I omit here some facts of the preceding year, to which I shall return.

Under these new Consuls arrived at Rome M. Aurelius Cotta, L. Scipio's lieutenant, with the Ambassadors of Antiochus, King Eumenes, and the Ambassadors of the Rhodians.

- Liv. Cotta related, first in the Senate, and then in the
 xxxvii.52. assembly of the People, all that had passed in Asia.
 Pro-

Procession and thanksgivings were decreed for three days for such great successes, and forty great victims were sacrificed. A.R. 563.
Ant. C.
189.

Audience was then given to Eumenes preferably to all others. "He began by thanking the Senate in few words for the distinguished protection they had afforded him, in delivering himself and his brother from the siege carried on against Pergamus the capital of his dominions, and in securing his kingdom against the unjust enterprizes of Antiochus. He then congratulated the Romans upon the success of their arms by sea and land, and upon the glorious victory they had lately obtained, by which they had driven Antiochus out of Europe, and all that part of Asia on this side of Mount Taurus. He added, that as to what related to his person and the services he had endeavoured to render the Commonwealth, he chose, that the Senate should be informed of them rather by the Roman Generals than from his own mouth." Liv.
xxxvii.
52--54.
Polyb.

So modest a reserve was generally approved: but he was desired expressly to say wherein the Senate and People of Rome could oblige him, and what he expected from them; assuring him that he might rely upon their good will. He replied, "that if the choice of a reward were proposed to him by others, he should take the liberty to ask the advice of so illustrious a body in respect to the answer it was proper for him to give; to avoid making demands that might be deemed immodest and excessive: but as it was from the Senate itself he expected all he could hope, he thought it incumbent on him to refer himself solely to their generosity." He was again pressed to explain himself clearly and without ambiguity. In this mutual contest of politeness and deference, Eumenes not being able to get so much the better of himself as to comply, quitted the assembly. The Senate, however, persisted in their opinion; and their reason was, that only the King knew what suited himself, and was most for his interest. He was therefore made to return, and obliged to explain himself.

A. R. 563.

Ant. C.

189.

Eumenes then made a very fine speech, the purport of which was to demand of the Roman People by way of recompence for his services great part of Asia Minor, which had been taken from Antiochus. But, as he knew, that the Rhodians would oppose his demands under very specious pretexts, he previously refuted all that they had to say contrary to his interests. Accordingly the Rhodians on being admitted to audience, after having spoke modestly of their services, represented in a lively manner, that it was for the honour of the Roman People to reinstate the liberty of all the cities of Asia, as they had of Greece.

Those two speeches, the substance and a great many strokes of which Livy has copied from Polybius, are very eloquent: but as they regard the interests of the States of Asia more than those of the Romans, and I have related them with sufficient extent in the Antient History, I thought it necessary to omit them here.

Liv.

xxxvii. 55.

The Ambassadors of Antiochus were heard after those of the Rhodians. They confined themselves to asking, that the Senate would be pleased to ratify the peace, which L. Scipio had granted them. They did so, and some days after, it was also ratified in the assembly of the People. The treaty of peace was solemnly concluded in the Capitol between the Senate and Roman People of one side, and Antipater, the principal Ambassador and nephew of Antiochus, on the other.

Ibid. 56.

Audience was afterwards given to the other deputies of Asia, to which it was answered in general, that the Senators, according to antient custom, would send ten commissioners into Asia, to make such regulations as should be proper, of which the substance should be very near as follows: that Eumenes should be put into possession of all the countries that had been under Antiochus on this side of Mount Taurus, except Lycia and Caria: those countries included all Lycæonia, the two Phrygias, Mysia, the cities of Lydia and Ionia, except those which were free at the time the battle was fought with Antiochus: that all the cities

of

of Asia, which had paid tribute to Attalus King of Pergamus, should also pay tribute to Eumenes his son. That those which had been tributary to Antiochus, should be free and exempt from all imposts. That, as to what regarded the Rhodians, they were granted Lycia, and that part of Caria in the neighbourhood of their island beyond the Meander, with the cities, towns, forts and lands, extending towards Pisidia, except the places which had been free before the victory over Antiochus. Eumenes and the Rhodians seemed very well satisfied with this regulation, which really was highly advantageous to them.

The war with Antiochus made way for three triumphs at Rome. The first was that of Man. Acilius, who triumphed over Antiochus and the Ætolians. The second was granted to L. Æmilius Regulus, who had defeated Polyxenidas, Admiral of the fleet of Antiochus by sea.

Some time after, L. Scipio arrived at Rome, and to equal his brother by a glorious surname, he assumed that of Asiaticus. He related his successes in Asia to the Senate and People. The Romans returned the Gods solemn thanksgivings for so considerable a victory, and granted their General the honour of a triumph, which he had so justly deserved. This triumph, in outward shew, exceeded that of Scipio Africanus: but on the side of danger and difficulty of the war, and importance of actions, was as much inferior to it, as L. Scipio was to his brother, or Antiochus to Hannibal. He exhibited to the eyes of the People two hundred and thirty-four ensigns, twelve hundred and twenty elephants teeth, two hundred and twenty-four gold crowns, a considerable quantity of gold and silver either in ingots, coined or wrought plate of all kinds. Besides which he caused two and thirty Generals of armies, Governors of provinces, or great Lords of the court of Antiochus to be led before his chariot. He caused twenty-five denarii to be distributed to each soldier, (about twelve shillings) twice as much to the Centurions, and thrice to the

A. R. 563. horse. After his triumph, he caused twice the usual
 Ant. C. pay and provisions to be given the troops, as he had
 189. done before in Asia immediately after the defeat of
 Antiochus. It was almost a year after the expiration
 of his consulship, when he had this triumph.

Thus ended the war with Antiochus, which was
 not of long duration, cost the Romans little blood,
 and however very much conduced to aggrandize their
 empire. But at the same time this victory also con-
 tributed in another manner to the ruin and perdition
 of the same empire, by introducing at Rome, with
 the riches it brought thither, a taste for luxury, and
 voluptuousness. For it is to this victory over Antio-
 chus and the conquest of Asia, that Pliny dates the
 corruption of the manners of the Roman Common-
 wealth, and of the fatal change that happened in it.

Plin. xiii.
 3.

* Asia conquered by the arms of Rome, in its turn
 conquered Rome by its vices. Foreign riches put an
 end to the love of poverty and the antient simplicity,
 which had been the principles of its honour and
 strength. † Luxury, which entered Rome as in tri-
 umph with the superb spoils of Asia, brought with it
 in its train all kinds of disorders and crimes, made
 more havock there than the most numerous armies
 could have done, and in that manner avenged the
 conquered globe.

* Armis vicit, vitiis victus est. SENEC. de Alex.

† Prima peregrinos obscœna pecunia mores

Intulit, & turpi fregerunt secula luxu

Divitiæ molles —————

Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis, ex quo

Paupertas Roma perit —————

Sævior armis

Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.

JUVEN. Satyr. 6.

REFLECTIONS upon the CONDUCT of the
ROMANS in respect to the GRECIAN COM-
MONWEALTH, and the KINGS as well of EU-
ROPE and ASIA, and at the same Time upon
the Relation which all these Events have to the
Establishment of the CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

WE begin now to distinguish from the facts I have hitherto related one of the principal characters of the Romans, which will soon determine the fate of all the States of Greece, and occasion an almost general change throughout the universe: I mean, the lust of empire. This character does not shew itself at first in full light, and in all its extent: it discovers itself only by little and little, or gradually: and it is only by insensible degrees, but however rapid enough, that it at length attains its final purpose.

We must admit, that this people on certain occasions shew a moderation and disinterestedness, which, considered only from outward appearance, are above any thing of the kind to be found in History, and to which we cannot justly refuse our admiration. Was there ever a more shining and glorious day, than that in which the Roman People, after having sustained a long and dangerous war, passed seas, and exhausted themselves in expences, declare by the voice of an herald in a general assembly, that they restore liberty to all the Republics and cities of Greece, desiring no other fruit of their victory, than the exalted pleasure of doing good to a People, whom the remembrance only of their antient renown rendered dear to them? We cannot read the narration of what passed on that famous day, without being softened even to tears, and without giving way to a kind of enthusiastic esteem and admiration for so generous a People.

If this deliverance of the Grecian cities had been entirely void of interest, had no other principle but beneficence of mind, and the conduct of the Romans had never deviated from such laudable sentiments, nothing could certainly be greater or more glorious.

But, if we enter a little beyond this shining outside, we easily discern, that this pretended moderation of the Romans had its source in a profound policy, wise indeed and prudent according to the maxims of the ambitious, but far from that noble disinterestedness, which historians have so much cried up on the occasion in question. It may be said, that the Greeks at this time abandoned themselves to a very ill-founded joy, believing themselves actually free, because the Romans declared them so.

Two powers, at the time of which we are speaking, divided Greece, the Greek Republics and Macedonia, and they were always at war: the one to preserve the wrecks of their antient liberty, and the other totally to subject and enslave them. The Romans, who were perfectly sensible of this situation of Greece, rightly perceived, that they had nothing to fear from these petty Republics, weakened by time, intestine divisions, and the wars they had to sustain without doors. But Macedonia, which had warlike troops, that did not lose sight of the glory of their antient Kings, had formerly extended their conquests to the extremities of the world, still retained a warm, though chimerical, desire of universal monarchy, and had a kind of natural alliance with the Kings of Egypt and Syria, descended from the same origin, and united by the common interests of regal power: Macedonia, I say, gave just alarms to Rome, which, after the reduction of Carthage, could have no other obstacles to her ambitious designs than those powerful kingdoms, that divided the rest of the universe between them, and in particular Macedonia, which was nearer Italy than any of the rest!

Rome therefore had in view to counterpoize the Macedonian power, and to deprive Philip of the aid he flattered himself with having from Greece. This aid would perhaps have actually been capable of rendering him invincible by the Romans, if all Greece had joined with Macedonia against the common enemy. To prevent this union fatal to their views, the Romans

mans declared highly for these Republicks, and made it their glory to take them under their protection, without any other apparent design, than to defend them against their oppressors. And in order to attach them by a stronger tie, they industriously profess, as a reward of their fidelity, that they will protect their liberty, of which all the Republicks were jealous beyond all possibility of expression, and which the Kings of Macedonia had always disputed with them.

The bait was most artfully prepared, and greedily swallowed by the Greeks, most of whom carried their views no farther. But the most judicious and penetrating discovered the danger concealed under this lure, and from time to time admonished the People in the public assemblies to distrust the cloud gathering in the West, and which soon would change into a dreadful tempest, that would wreck them all.

Nothing at first was more candid and equitable, than the conduct of the Romans. They treated the cities and States, which put themselves under their protection, with great goodness: they aided them against their enemies: they were industrious in appeasing their divisions, and in putting an end to the troubles that arose amongst them, and required nothing from their Allies for all these services. By this means their authority was established by degrees, and prepared the People for an entire subjection to it.

Accordingly, under pretext of offering them their good offices, of entering into their interests, and of reconciling them to each other, they rendered themselves the supreme arbitrators of those, to whom they had restored liberty, and whom they considered in some sense as their freed men. They sent commissioners to them to hear their complaints, to examine their reasons on both sides, and to terminate their divisions. As to the articles to which they could not make them agree upon the spot, they invited them to send their deputies to Rome. They afterwards summoned such authoritatively as refused to comply, obliged them to plead their causes before the Senate, and even to ap-
pear

pear there personally. From arbitrators and mediators become judges, they soon assumed the tone of masters, considered their decrees as irrevocable decisions, were highly offended if they were not immediately submitted to, and treated a second refusal as rebellion.

Thus the Senate of Rome set itself up for the supreme tribunal of the universe, judging all States and Kings in the last resort. At the end of every war it determined the punishments and rewards each had deserved. It deprived the conquered People of part of their lands, to reward the Allies of the Commonwealth with them : wherein there was a double advantage. It attached Kings to Rome from which she had little to fear, and much to hope ; and thereby weakened others, from whom Rome had nothing to hope, and much to fear.

We shall see one of the principal magistrates of the Achæan Republic “ highly complain in a public assembly of this unjust usurpation of a sovereign authority ; and demand by what right the Romans held so haughty a sway over them. If their Commonwealth was not as free and independent as that of Rome ? By what title they pretended to subject the Achæans to give them an account of their conduct ? If they should approve the intermeddling of the Achæans in their affairs ? And whether things ought not to be equal on both sides ? ” All these reflexions were just, founded in reason, and unanswerable ; and the Romans had nothing to object but the law of the strongest.

Rome acted in the same manner, and observed the same policy, with regard to Kings. She first attached those who were weakest, and least capable of resisting her, to herself. She gave them the title of Allies, which in some measure rendered them sacred and inviolable, and which in respect to them was a kind of safe-guard against more powerful Princes. She was industrious to augment their revenues, and extend their dominions, to shew what was to be expected from

from her protection. This is what raised the kingdom of Pergamus to so high a degree of greatness.

In process of time the Romans under various pretexts attacked these great Potentates, who were the masters of Europe and Asia. And with what haughtiness did they not treat them, even before victory? A powerful King is inclosed within a narrow circle by a private citizen of Rome, and obliged to give his answer before he quits it: what haughtiness was this! But, after having conquered them, in what manner are they treated? They order them to give them their children, and the heirs to their crown as hostages, and securities for their good behaviour, make them lay down their arms, forbid them to make either war or alliances without their good pleasure, drive them beyond mountains, and properly speaking, leave them only an empty title, a phantom of sovereignty, divested of its rights and advantages.

It cannot be doubted, but that Providence had destined the Romans to be the Lords of the world, as their future greatness had been foretold in the scriptures. But these divine oracles were unknown to them; besides which the prediction of their conquests did not justify their ambition, which God vouchsafed to employ for the execution of the designs he had decreed from all eternity. Though it be difficult to be assured, and still more to prove, that they had formed the plan of universal dominion from the first, it must be owned, on examining their conduct attentively, that they acted as if they always had this view, and that a kind of instinct had induced them to conform to it in all things.

However it were, we see by the event, in what this extraordinary moderation of the Romans, so much boasted by their panegyrists, terminated. Enemies to the liberty of all people, and full of contempt for Kings and regal power, considering the whole universe as their prey, their insatiable ambition took in the conquest of the world: they indiscriminately seized all provinces and kingdoms, and included all the people
of

of the earth under their yoke : in a word, they set no other bounds to their vast designs but such as they were forced to set by desarts and seas. And this we shall evidently see in the sequel.

Hitherto we have seen the glorious ages of the Commonwealth. Ambition, which always was the soul of all the enterprizes of the Romans, was attended with so many glorious actions, such excellent qualities, and shining virtues, that, especially with such great successes, it may not seem very reproachable, and may even be considered as a mark of great and noble sentiments, that rise above the pitch of vulgar souls, and which alone can conduce to the glory and augmentation of a State : at least this is the idea the Pagans have of it. This ambition will not always be so modest and reserved. It will soon appear without veil or disguise ; and in the latter times of the Commonwealth, it will rise to excesses, which will occasion its ruin, and change the form of the government.

I have said, that Providence destined the Romans to be the future Lords of the Universe. This truth, which is founded upon revelation, and consequently is incontestable, becomes more and more evident ; and with the least attention to the series and order of the events which history presents us, we perceive, that every thing has relation to, and carries on, the great and eternal design of God concerning the establishment of his Church. In proportion as the time of the Incarnation approaches, the conquests of the Romans become more rapid, and have manifestly more of prodigy in them. They hasten on to prepare the empire, in which the divine reign of the Son of God is to be established. They render the preaching of the Gospel more easy and immediate ; by uniting all nations, so different in manners, customs, languages, and interests, under one and the same government, which will have the same laws, polity, commerce, morals, in which the most rational system of law that the Pagan world has hitherto produced, will take place,

place ; a system that prohibits polygamy, incestuous marriages, arbitrary and licentious divorces, and all the disorders so common, and so authorized in Syria, Egypt, and the East. The third empire formed by Alexander, and divided into four principal monarchies, seems to perceive, that the end of its duration approaches, and hastens to give place to the fourth empire, foretold by the prophet Daniel, which is to swallow up all the empires and states of the universe, in order to incorporate them in itself, and lastly to subject them to JESUS CHRIST, the King of Kings, the Lord and Sovereign of all ages.

BRIEF DISCOURSE UPON TRIUMPHS.

AS triumphs are frequently mentioned in the Roman History, I thought it proper to throw together in the same place what is most essential to the knowledge of this subject, and most proper to give the reader a just and sufficient idea of them.

The honour of a triumph was amongst the Romans the most shining and glorious reward of military merit, as the description of what passed in it will soon shew. Accordingly it was the most affecting object of the ambition of Generals, and at the same time a powerful motive for signalizing themselves in the command of armies by actions of valour and prudence, and for gaining victories over enemies that might render them worthy of that honour.

Romulus, the founder of Rome, a * Prince born for great actions, and who had the talent of setting them off, was the first, who, after having conquered some neighbouring states, re-entered the city in triumph with his victorious army, in the midst of the acclamations and applauses of the whole city.

There were two different kinds of triumphs. The great, properly called *Triumphus* : and the less, called

* Ipse cum factis vir magnificus, tum factorum ostentator haud minor. Liv. l. 10.

Ovatio. The latter is believed to be so called because a sheep was sacrificed in it, whereas a bull was the offering in the great triumph. The Ovation was granted, either when the victory was not very considerable, or when it was gained in the province of another, or by a General who had commanded without being invested with the office of Prætor or Consul; or lastly, when the enemy were contemptible, as revolted slaves.

The difference between the great and little triumph, was, that in the latter the person who triumphed was not drawn in a chariot, but entered the city on foot, without wearing the habit of triumph, not with a crown of laurel but of myrtle; and not to the sound of trumpets, but only of flutes. In a word, this triumph was much less solemn than the great one. The * Consul Postumius Tubertus was the first that triumphed in this manner the 251st year of Rome.

The great triumph was granted only for considerable victories, and, according to a law mentioned by Valerius Maximus, it was necessary, that at least five thousand of the enemy should have been killed in the battle itself, and a much less number of the citizens. What had given occasion for this law, was the excessive ambition of some Generals, who, for expeditions and battles of little importance, demanded permission to enter Rome in triumph. And that this law might not be rendered ineffectual by fraud and deceit, a second was passed, which obliged Generals to take an oath to the Quæstor of the city, that the number of the enemies and citizens killed in the battle, mentioned in their letters to the Senate, was conformable to truth, and that they had neither augmented the one, nor lessened the other.

The honour of triumph was solely granted for having extended the limits of the State, and not for hav-

† Triumphans de Sabinis Postumius Tubertus, qui primus omnium ovans ingressus urbem est, quoniam rem leviter sine cruore gesserat, myrto Veneris Victricis coronatus incescit—Hæc postea ovantium fuit corona. PLIN. XV. 29.

ing only recovered what belonged to it before by force of arms. It was for this reason that Q. Fulvius was refused a triumph, who had retaken Capua; and L. Opimius, who had obliged the Fregellani to return to their obedience to the Roman People.

Whatever good success a General had in a civil war, the Senate neither decreed thanksgivings to the Gods, as was usual in other wars, nor granted triumphs for such victories, which, though beneficial to the Commonwealth, were always considered as mournful and unhappy, having been bought with the blood of the citizens, and rather deserving tears and groans than marks of joy.

The triumph, strictly, was to be granted only to the person, who had commanded in chief, *cum imperio*, and under whose auspices the war had been made. Thus a Prætor could not aspire to this advantage, when the Consul, to whom he was subordinate, and who alone had fulness of power, was present in the action. It is upon this principle, that in the dispute which arose between the Consul Lutatius and Vale-^{Val. Max.}rius Falto the Prætor, Atilius Calatinus, who had been appointed arbitrator, gave the cause in favour of Lutatius. However, as the Consul had been prevented by sickness from acting, and the honour of the victory appertained entirely to the Prætor, he was also granted a triumph.

It was the Senate alone at first that granted triumphs. Dionysius of Halicarnassus observes, that P. Servilius Priscus was the first who triumphed by the authority of the People, against the Senate's consent. He was Consul the 259th year of Rome. Livy, who does not mention this triumph, dates this innovation forty-five years later. According to him, it was in the 306th of Rome, that the Consuls L. Valerius and M. Horatius, having conquered the Volsci and the Latines, and not being able to induce the Senate, to whom they were odious, to do them justice, introduced the example of having recourse to the People.

ple on the like occasions, and triumphed in virtue of a decree of the People. The Senator C. Claudius, in the discourse he made against this innovation, said in exprefs terms, * that no one had ever applied before for a triumph to the People, and that the power of granting that honour to those they judged worthy of it, had always been left to the Senate.

When the Generals could not obtain that honour either from the Senate or the People, and however believed they had deserved it, they made themselves amends in triumphing by their own authority upon the Alban mountain, about twelve miles from Rome. Papirius Maso was the first, who introduced this custom in the 521st year of Rome. Marcellus, after the taking of Syracuse, not being able to obtain more than an ovation from the Senate, solemnized the great triumph upon the Alban mountain.

Both triumphs were granted for naval victories as well as for those gained by land. The Consul Duillius was the first who obtained a naval triumph.

The General who aspired at a triumph, in order to obtain it, was previously to give the Senate an account of his exploits, and of the victory he had obtained. The Senate, for that purpose, assembled in the temple of Bellona without the city. If the year of his Consulship or Prætorship was expired, and in consequence he was only Proconsul or Proprætor, as those titles were void by his entering the city, and the person who triumphed, was to be invested with the right of commanding, *esse cum imperio*, it was necessary that one of the Tribunes should propose to the People to exempt the General from the common law, and to grant him the power of commanding, for the day he was to enter the city in triumph.

* Nunquam antè de triumpho per populum actum. Semper æstimationem arbitriumque ejus honoris penes Senatum fuisse---Tum primum, sine auctoritate Senatûs, populi jussu triumphatum est. Liv.

When all the preparations for the triumph were compleated, and the day fixed was arrived, the march was began from the field of Mars. The procession usually entered the city by the gate Capena. This pomp was magnificent. I shall soon give an extensive and circumstantial description of it; of which I here intend only a slight image. The pomp began by a great number of carriages laden with different spoils, and all the riches conquered from the enemy. The triumpher was drawn in a chariot with four horses. Immediately before him marched on foot the Officers, Generals, and often Princes and Kings, whom he had taken prisoners. The children of the victor, if he had any, shared in the honour of the triumph with him, either sitting by his side, or riding on horseback, and following him with the principal officers of the army, and all the victorious troops, who were at liberty either to sing songs in praise of their General; or even against him. The concourse of the people was infinite. The pomp crossed the Forum and the greatest streets of Rome. * When it approached the Capitol, the prisoners were carried to the prisons, or frequently the chiefs of the enemy were put to death on the same day. After the triumpher had performed the duties of religion in the Capitol, he conferred different marks of honour upon those who had distinguished their valour in the battle, and distributed certain sums of money to all the soldiers of the army. The ceremony concluded with a feast, which he gave the principal Senators and officers of the army: after which he was conducted home with a great train, and the sound of drums, trumpets, and all kinds of instruments.

Plutarch, in the life of Paulus Æmilius, has described at large, and in colours equally strong and shining, the march and order of that General's triumph, after having conquered and taken Perseus, the

* Cùm de foro in Capitolium currum flectere incipiunt, illos (duces hostium) duci in carcerem jubent; idemque dies & victoribus imperii, & victis vitæ finem facit. Cic. Verr. ult. n. 77.

last King of Macedonia. This was one of the most magnificent triumphs that had ever been seen at Rome. I shall copy almost the whole description of it in this place, which will give the reader an exact idea of that glorious ceremony.

TRIUMPH of PAULUS ÆMILIUS, extracted from PLUTARCH.

THE order of this triumph was as follows. In all the circusses, Fora, and streets, through which the pomp was to pass, scaffolds were erected. All the citizens, dressed in white robes, spared no pains to get places on them. All the temples were opened, the statues of the Gods were adorned with crowns and garlands, and incense smoked upon their altars. A great number of Lictors, and other public officers walked on each side, with staves in their hands to keep off the crowd, and to open the way.

This procession was divided so as to continue during three days. The first day scarce sufficed for exhibiting to the eyes of the people the statues and paintings, which were placed in two hundred and fifty carriages; a sight so delightful, that the spectators could not have enough of it.

The second day, the finest and most magnificent arms of the Macedonians were exposed to view, the brass and steel of which being new polished, glittered in such a manner as to dazzle the sight. They were carried upon an infinite number of carriages, and though disposed with much art, order and symmetry, they seemed to be thrown together by chance; and this seeming confusion, though nicely studied, very agreeably amused the spectators, and gave them a sensible pleasure. Helmets and bucklers, cuirasses and buskins, Cretan large shields and those of Thrace, and quivers mingled with bits and bridles, were grouped together. On the one side naked swords, and on the other long Macedonian spears, projecting on the right and left, presented their sharp and menacing points on all sides. All these different piles
were

were tied neither too close nor too loose, so, that the motion of the carriages making so many different pieces strike against and clash with each other, they gave a warlike and terrible sound: and those arms, though conquered and taken, inspired even the victors with a kind of dread and horror.

After all these carriages full of arms, came three thousand men carrying coined money in seven hundred and fifty vases each, containing about * three talents, borne by four men. These three thousand men were followed by a great number of others, who carried urns and cisterns of silver, cups made like horns, bowls and flaggons, all artificially disposed, and every one remarkable in itself for its magnitude, weight, and the ornaments in relief upon it.

† The third day, the trumpets early in the morning marched at the head of the whole procession, not playing the airs usual upon solemn festivals, but such as are used to animate the courage of the soldiers when they are led to battle. They were followed by an hundred and twenty fat bulls, with gilt horns, and adorned with wreaths of garlands, led by young persons with aprons edged with purple, who were to sacrifice them. Children came next, carrying the gold and silver vessels used in the sacrifices.

The gold coin followed these carried in seventy-seven † vases, each containing three talents, and borne by

* Mr. Dacier, in his translation of Plutarch's Lives, gives us the value of the sums both in gold and silver mentioned here, as follows.

In each vase there were three talents of silver worth eighteen thousand drachmas, that is, about four hundred and fifty pounds sterling. Consequently in the 750 vases, there were about three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds sterling.

† Each of the seventy-seven vases contained three talents of gold, and as in these times gold was valued only at ten times as much silver, the three talents of gold were worth thirty of silver. Thus there was in each vase about four thousand five hundred pounds; and consequently in the 77 there were in all about three hundred and forty-one thousand five hundred pounds. According to this estimate, the whole money in specie amounted to about six hundred and eighty-four thousand pounds. Valerius Antias, cited by Livy, xlv. 40. makes this sum amount to 750000 l. Velleius Paterculus, i. 9, to one million three hundred and twelve thousand five hundred pounds. The sums brought from Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius must have

four men. These vases were followed by those who carried the sacred bowl of massy gold, which Paulus Æmilius had caused to be made of the weight of ten * talents and adorned with precious stones. After this bowl walked those who carried the bowls called Antigonides, Seleucides, (from the name of Antigonus and Seleucus, antient Kings of Macedonia, who had used them) and the Thericleæ; (from the name of Thericles, an excellent artist who had designed and executed the workmanship of them) and those who carried the gold plate of Perseus.

Immediately after came the chariot of that Prince with his arms, and upon his arms his diadem. At some small distance followed his children, with their governors, præceptors, and all the officers of their household, who weeping held out their hands to the people, and taught their illustrious, but unfortunate, pupils, humbly to implore the mercy of the victors. These children were three in number, two Princes and a Princess, whose condition seemed the more worthy of pity, as in their infant state, they were less sensible of their misery. So mournful a sight, which was capable of melting the hardest hearts, drew tears from the eyes of almost all that were present, and rendered them unconcerned and indifferent in respect to the fate of the King.

He followed his children, and all their train, in a mourning robe, and in the highest anguish and confusion, like a man whom the greatness of his misfortunes had entirely deprived of sense and reason. The Queen his wife was with him, according to Zonaras. After him came a troop of his friends and courtiers, who walking bare-headed, and with their eyes fixed upon him, sufficiently intimated to the spectators, that they

been very considerable, as, according to Cicero, Off. ii. 76. they sufficed to abolish the taxes paid by the Roman People.

* That is to say, of six hundred pounds in weight, for the talent weighed sixty pounds. Thus there was to the value of an hundred thousand crowns of gold in this cup: this was a very magnificent one: but what must the precious stones with which it was adorned, have added to its worth?

were little affected with their own fate, and had no sense but for that of their King.

After this crowd of the officers and domesticks of Perseus, four hundred crowns were carried, which cities had sent Paulus Æmilius by their Ambassadors, as the reward of his victory.

Paulus Æmilius appeared last, in a superb chariot, magnificently adorned. Though only his person had been exhibited, that had merited all attention without the pomp and splendor which surrounded him. But his noble mien was exalted by his robe of purple embroidered with gold; and he carried a branch of laurel in his right hand. Amongst the other illustrious persons in his train his two sons Q. Maximus and P. Scipio were conspicuous. His whole army followed his chariot drawn up by corps in good order with laurel branches also in their hands, and singing sometimes verses full of taunts against their General, a liberty allowed and usual upon these occasions, and sometimes songs of triumph full of praises of his great and glorious exploits.

We must own that nothing could be more soothing to Generals, who had gained signal victories over the enemies of the State, than to re-enter Rome with such great pomp, in the midst of the acclamations and applauses of an innumerable multitude, and followed by all their victorious troops. And in consequence this pomp appeared too glorious for private persons. Agrippa, no doubt in concert with Augustus, was the first who set the example of refusing a triumph which had been decreed him. That example became a rule; and from thenceforth, the Emperors reserved solely to themselves the glory of triumphing, and gave only the ornaments of triumph to private persons.

But if, by the pomp of triumph, military merit was gloriously rewarded, with what pride and haughtiness must such a sight inspire the Roman citizens, who, accustomed from their infancy to see Kings and Princes ignominiously led before the chariots of superb victors, considered themselves as the masters and su-

preme arbiters of the fate of whatever is greatest and most honoured amongst mankind? Did there appear the least trace of humanity in a ceremony, wherein Kings and Queens in chains were exhibited as a spectacle to the public? Was it not affecting to shew an injurious contempt for the majesty of thrones, and to insult all the Kings of the earth, to degrade Princes in this manner, whose only crime was often to have been overcome? Is it not customary for the * misfortunes of Kings to excite compassion, and ought not their very name, which is always venerable and sacred, to give them refuge from such indignities? I do not know how Rome could justify acts of inhumanity so contrary to that goodness and clemency upon which she piqued herself on all other occasions.

* Hoc jam fere sic fieri solere accepimus, ut regum afflictæ fortunæ multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam---quod regale iis nomen magnum & sanctum esse videatur. CIC. pro leg. Man. 24.

T H E

R O M A N H I S T O R Y.

B O O K T H E T W E N T Y - F O U R T H.

THIS book contains the space of eleven years, from 563 to 573. It treats principally of the end of the war with the Ætolians, the victories of Manlius over the Gauls in Asia, the accusation of Scipio Africanus, and his retreat to Linternum; the fanaticism of the Bacchanalians discovered and punished; the discontent of Philip King of Macedonia against the Romans; the Censorship of Cato; and the unhappy death of Demetrius son of Philip.

S E C T. I.

Manius Acilius triumphs over the Ætolians. The Romans defeated in Spain under Paulus Æmilius. Youth of Paulus Æmilius. That General's family. The Ætolian Ambassadors are ordered to quit Rome and Italy, without having obtained peace. Death of the Prætor Bæbius. Paulus Æmilius gains a great battle over the Lusitanians in Spain. Warm contest in respect to the Censorship. Amynder is reinstated in his kingdom by the Ætolians. The news of the approaching arrival of the Consuls occasions great consternation

M 4 amongst

amongst the Ætolians. The Consul Fulvius arrives in Greece. He forms the siege of Ambracia, which makes a vigorous defence. The Ætolians demand, and at length obtain peace. Ambracia surrenders. The Ætolian Ambassadors set out for Rome. The treaty of peace is ratified there. The Consul Manlius makes war against the Gallo-Grecians. He arrives in their country, and exhorts his soldiers to do their duty well. Two of the three bodies of the Gauls retire to mount Olympus. The Romans attack and defeat them there. The Consul approaches Ancyra, to attack the third body of the Gauls. Extraordinary action of a female Gaulish prisoner. Second victory over the Gauls. Manlius returns to Ephesus. Censorship exercised with abundance of lenity. The Consul Fulvius takes Samos by assault, and reduces the whole island of Cephalaria. New Consuls. Eclipse of the sun. Embassy from the states of Asia to Manlius. Embassies from Antiochus, the Gauls, and Ariarathes. Conditions of the Treaty concluded between the Roman People and Antiochus. Reflections upon Antiochus. Unfortunate death of that Prince. Decrees and regulations in respect to the Kings and cities of Asia. Manlius returns to Europe, and lead back his army into Greece.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C.
190.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

C. LÆLIUS.

NOT to interrupt the series of what relates to the war with Antiochus, I have omitted some facts, to which I now return.

Liv.
xxxvii.46.

Whilst the things of which I have spoke in the preceding book passed in Asia, the two proconsuls Q. Minucius and Manius Acilius returned almost at the same time to Rome; both with the hopes of triumphing, the first over the Ligurians, and the other over the Ætolians, whom they had conquered. Minucius was refused that honour. Acilius, as I have already said, triumphed over Antiochus and the Ætolians with abundance of pomp and magnificence.

The

The joy occasioned by this shew was soon interrupted, by the bad news received from Spain. The Proconsul Æmilius having been defeated by the Lusitanians, had left six thousand men upon the spot, and marched back the rest trembling into their camp, which they had defended with great difficulty, and in which they were even afraid to continue, and retired by forced marches into an Ally's country. This was the same Paulus Æmilius, who was afterwards so famous by conquering Perseus King of Macedonia. A defeat ought not to discredit a General, to whom it may prove very useful, by inducing him to make noble efforts to retrieve his reputation, as we shall soon see Paulus Æmilius did the year following. As he will act a great part in the Commonwealth, I shall insert some strokes of his life in this place extracted from Plutarch.

L. Æmilius Paulus his father, who commanded, and was killed, at the battle of Cannæ, had a daughter named Æmilia, who was married to the great Scipio, and a son called as well as himself Paulus Æmilius, which last is the person in question. He came into the world at a time, when a great number of persons illustrious for their virtues and exploits flourished; and he distinguished himself in a particular manner, though different from that in which young persons acquired reputation at that time. For he did not apply himself to the eloquence of the bar, and he renounced intrigues, sollicitations, caresses, and the other methods, practised by most People to gain the favour of the People, by insinuating themselves into their good opinion by an avowed passion to please them. He did not take pains to make himself known and esteemed, except by valour, justice, and a strict attachment to all his duties, wherein he surpassed all the young persons of his time.

The first considerable office he stood for, was the Ædileship, and the preference was given to him against ten competitors, all so distinguished by birth and me-

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A. R. 562.
Ant. C.
190.
Liv.
xxxvii.46.

Plut. in
Paul.
Æmil.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C.
190.

rit, that not one of them but afterwards attained the Consulship.

Having been admitted into the college of Augurs, who were a certain number of priests, to whom the Romans assigned the care and superintendency of the divinations taken from birds, and all signs and prodigies that passed in the heavens, he applied himself in an extraordinary manner to the study of the antient rites and ceremonies of religion. As he took great care not to innovate in any thing, he was also very circumspect in observing the slightest formalities, convinced, that as in the administration of the public affairs the Augurs had a considerable share, when small matters are neglected, such negligences by degrees induce the violation of the most important rules, and open a door for a pernicious licence.

He was no less exact and severe in re-establishing, and causing to be observed, all the regulations of military discipline. Whilst he commanded the armies, he was never seen either to flatter, or caress his soldiers, in order to gain their opinion by weak and mean complacency, as many other Generals did. He explained the minutest duties of their profession to his troops, shewing himself terrible and inexorable to such as disobeyed, and holding it for a maxim, that to conquer the enemy, was almost a necessary consequence of the war taken to form and discipline his countrymen.

Plut. in
Paul.
Æmil.

He had for his first wife married Papiria, the daughter of Papirius Mæso, who had been Consul. After having lived a long time with her, and had two sons by her, he repudiated her; some motive not come down to us having determined him to that divorce. But, adds Plutarch here in respect to separations of marriage, nothing seems more true than what a Roman said to his friends, who reproached him on that head, and asked him, "Is not your wife
" prudent? Is not she handsome? Has not she
" brought you fine children?" To all these questions
he

he made no other answer than by shewing them his shoe, and asking them in his turn: "Is not this shoe handsome? Is it not well made? But none of you know where it hurts me."

A. R. 562.
Ant. C.
190.

Divorces were allowed at Rome by the laws of the twelve tables: however, no examples of them had been known before the 520th year. JESUS CHRIST, by absolutely condemning divorces, reinstated marriage according to its primitive intention, and re-established in its primæval purity.

In the room of Papiria, Paulus Æmilius married another, by whom he had two male children, whom he kept in his house: and the two others whom he had by his first wife he caused to be adopted into the principal and most illustrious houses of Rome. His eldest was adopted by the son of Fabius Maximus, five times Consul and Dictator; and the second by the son of Scipio Africanus, who thereby became his father by adoption, and his cousin at the same time. It is this second son of Paulus Æmilius, who is so well known in history under the name of the second Scipio Africanus. Of the two daughters of Paulus Æmilius, the one was married to the son of Cato the censor, and the other to Tubero, a person very venerable for his virtue, and one who of all the Romans sustained himself with the greatest magnanimity and constancy in his poverty, as we shall see in the sequel.

This account of the children of Paulus Æmilius will be necessary for the understanding of many facts, which we shall relate in their place.

Livy, after having related the defeat of this General in few words, says, that the colonies of Placentia and Cremona were repeopled by sending six thousand men to them; and that two new ones were settled in the country which had been conquered from the Boii.

Liv.
xxxvii.42.

In the assembly which was held for the election of Consuls, M. Fulvius Nobilior was nominated alone, because none of the other candidates had the competent number of suffrages, that is to say, half of the

cen-

centuries. The next day Fulvius appointed Cn. Manlius Vulso his colleague.

A. R. 563.
Ant. C.
189.

M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.

CN. MANLIUS VULSO.

Liv.
xxxvii.
49.

The Ambassadors from the Ætolians, having been admitted into the Senate, should have been induced by the remembrance of their past conduct, and by the unhappy condition to which they were actually reduced, to confess their fault or their imprudence, and humbly to ask pardon for them. But, according to their arrogant and untractable disposition, they boasted the services they pretended to have rendered the Roman People ; and by almost reproaching them, that it was to their valour they were indebted for their victory over Philip, they gave great offence to all their auditors by so insolent a discourse ; and by calling to mind antient and forgotten facts, they effectually made the Senate remember a much greater number of circumstances disadvantageous to their nation, than they could instance in its favour. In effect, instead of exciting sentiments of compassion, that might save them, they only inflamed the hatred and wrath, which occasioned their destruction. A Senator having asked them, whether they absolutely abandoned themselves to the faith of the Roman People ; and another, whether for the future they were determined to have no friends nor enemies but those of Rome, they gave no satisfactory answer to these questions, which occasioned their being ordered to quit the house. The Senators then cried out with one voice, “ That the Ætolians still adhered to Antiochus more than ever. (King Antiochus had not yet been defeated by Scipio) and that it was this, that still kept up in them the spirit of revolt : that in consequence war must be made against them with the utmost vigour, till their pride and arrogance should be effectually humbled.” What raised the indignation of the Romans to its highest pitch, was its being known, that at the time they de-

manded

manded peace of the Senate, they actually made war themselves against the Dolopians and Athamantes, People in the neighbourhood of Epirus, and consequently were attacking Philip, then the ally of Rome. The Senate therefore passed a decree, by which they were ordered to quit Rome that day, and all Italy in fifteen. A. Terentius Varro had orders to attend them as far as the sea; and before they set out, they were told, that all Ambassadors, who should come from them, should be treated for the future as enemies, unless they should first have obtained permission from the Roman General, who commanded in Greece, and were accompanied by a Roman officer. In this manner they were dismissed.

The provinces of the Generals came on next in the Senate. Ætolia fell by lot to M. Fulvius, and Asia to Cn. Manlius. Liv. xxxvii. 50.

It was at this time Cotta brought the news of the victory gained over Antiochus to Rome, and the Ambassadors of Eumenes, of the Rhodians, and Antiochus had audience. Ibid. 52. — 55.

Soon after came Ambassadors from the Massylians, who informed the Senate, that L. Bæbius, on setting out for his province in Spain, had been surrounded by the Ligurians, who had killed the greatest part of those with him, and had wounded himself. That that General having been carried by his order to Marseilles without Lictors, with a small number of followers, had died there the third day after his arrival. P. Junius Brutus, who commanded in Tuscany, was sent in his place, and charged with the command in Hispania Ulterior. Ibid. 57.

At the same time came advice, that L. Æmilius Paulus, who the year before had been defeated in that province, having drawn an army together hastily, before his successor came to relieve him had given the Lusitanians battle, had killed them eighteen thousand men, and taken thirteen hundred prisoners with their camp. Ibid.

A. R. 563. The election of Censors occasioned a very warm contest at Rome, because many of the most illustrious Senators demanded that office with abundance of warmth. Ant. C. 189.
Liv. M. Porcius Catō was of this number. It was conferred upon T. Quintius Flaminius, and M. Claudius Marcellus. xxxvii. 58.

Liv. Whilst the war was carrying on in Asia, Ætolia was xxxviii. 1. not left in tranquility. New troubles had arose in Athamania. After Amynder had been driven out of his dominions, they had been governed by Philip's lieutenants, who by their avarice, pride, and cruelty, had so exasperated the People, that they resolved to call in their old master, whose lenity and moderation they regretted. Amynder, supported by the Ætolians, repossessed himself of his kingdom. Philip no sooner received advice of the revolt of the Athamanians, than he set out with six thousand men, and entered their country. But having used vain efforts to reduce them, he was obliged to return to Macedonia. Amynder sent Ambassadors to the Roman Senate, and into Asia to the two Scipios, who had halted at Ephesus to give the troops rest after the defeat of Antiochus. He demanded peace, and excused himself for having employed the arms of the Ætolians, in repossessing himself of his territories. He complained particularly of Philip's injustice.

Liv. ibid. The Ætolians having subjected the Dolopians and 3. Amphilochians, and reinstated Amynder in Athamania, began to exult for those successes, when they were informed that the Romans had overcome Antiochus in Asia. Some days after the Ambassadors whom they had sent to Rome, returned without bringing back the peace they went to ask, and acquainted them, that the Consul Fulvius had already passed the sea with his army. Terrified with this news, they resolved to send new ambassadors to Rome, chosen out of the principal persons of their nation, after having engaged the Rhodians and Athenians to join theirs with them. They were in hopes, that the credit of those two Republicks would make the Senate

Senate comply with the request, which it had before rejected. A. R. 563.
Ant. C.
189.

Fulvius in the mean time landed at Apollonia. The first thing which he did was to consult with the principal persons of Epirus in what manner he should commence the war against the Ætoliens. They advised him to begin by the siege of Ambracia, which at that time was gone over to the Ætoliens. This city, besides being defended on one side by the river Arethon, and on the other by a very steep mountain, was surrounded by a solid wall three miles in circumference. The Consul used all methods the art of war afforded for sieges in those days. It was of extreme importance to him with respect to his own reputation, and the success of the whole campaign, to succeed in his first enterprize. The attack was of the most vigorous kind, and the defence no less so. A reinforcement of five hundred chosen men, whom the Ætoliens found means to throw into the place, notwithstanding the vigilance of the Romans, very much augmented the courage and confidence of the besieged. They employed new inventions every day for burning the machines of the enemy. They made frequent sallies, in which they had almost always the advantage. Their defence was so vigorous and obstinate, that the Consul almost repented having undertaken this siege, the success of which began to appear doubtful to him. Liv. xxxviii.
4—7.

The Ætoliens, on their side, were in no less anxiety. On the one hand, Ambracia was vigorously pressed; on the other, their sea-coasts were ravaged by the Roman fleet: and lastly, Amphilochia and Dolopia were a prey to the Macedonians. It was absolutely impossible for them to sustain the war at the same time in three different places. Things being in this state, the Prætor assembled the principal persons of the nation, to know what they would advise him to do. "All were of opinion that it was necessary to ask peace, and to conclude it upon advantageous conditions, if possible, or at least supportable ones, if they could Liv. ibid.
8, 9.

A. R. 563.
Ant. C.
189.

could not do otherwise. That they had undertaken the war with the hope of being supported by the forces of Antiochus. But in what manner could they carry it on after that Prince had been defeated by sea and land, and driven almost out of the bounds of the universe beyond the heights of mount Taurus? That Pheneas and Damoteles should have full power to act according to their zeal and abilities in the present conjuncture, as they should judge most expedient for the service of their country, as fortune had reduced the Ætolians to receive the law from others."

The Ambassadors being arrived with these powers; "desired the Consul to spare Ambracia, and to have compassion upon a nation formerly an Ally, and which had been led on into foolish enterprizes, if not by injuries actually done them, at least by the calamities to which they had been reduced. That the Romans had not more reason to complain of the prejudice received from the Ætolians in the war with Antiochus, than to praise them for the services they had done them in that with Philip; and that, as in the latter their reward from the Romans had not been considerable, in the other it was but equitable not to carry their punishment into excessive rigour."

The Consul replied, "That the Ætolians had often recourse to requests to obtain an end of the war, but always with little faith and sincerity. That in asking peace they should imitate Antiochus, whom they had drawn into the war. That that Prince had not only renounced a small number of cities, to which the Romans were desirous to restore liberty, but all that part of Asia situated on this side of mount Taurus, that is to say, to an extent of country capable of forming an opulent and considerable kingdom. That as to him, he would give no ear to the Ætolians, till they had laid down their arms. That they must begin by delivering them up to the Romans with all their horses. That further they should pay the Romans a thousand talents (about an hundred and fifty thousand pounds) half down, and should engage by the

the treaty to have no other friends nor enemies but those of Rome."

A. R. 563.
Ant. C.
189.

The Ambassadors thinking these conditions extremely hard, and distrusting the inconstant and inflexible disposition of those who sent them, returned without giving the Consul any answer, to consult the Prætor and Heads of the nation again. They were very ill received. They were reproached; that with orders to conclude a peace on any conditions whatsoever; they exposed Ætolia to a more severe treatment by their slowness and protraction. They therefore set out again to return to Ambracia. But they fell into an ambuscade laid for them on the way by the Acarnanians, with whom the Ætolians were at war, and were carried prisoners to Thyrium, where they were confined. And this retarded the conclusion of the peace.

The Ambassadors of the Rhodians and Athenians were already in the Consul's camp, to whom they came to demand grace for the Ætolians, when Amyntander King of the Athamantes, after having provided himself with a passport, came thither also, in order to intercede, less for the Ætolians in general than the city of Ambracia in particular, where he had resided during the greatest part of his banishment. The Consul having been informed by them of the mischance of the Ambassadors, ordered, that they should be brought to him from Thyrium, and when they arrived the negotiation was renewed. Amyntander earnestly solicited the Ambracians to surrender, for that was what he had most at heart. And as he found it difficult to persuade their magistrates in the conferences he had with them at the foot of the walls, he entered the city by the permission of the Consul, and adding intreaties to counsels, he at length prevailed upon them to open their gates to the Romans, after having taken the Consul's promise, that the Ætolian garrison might quit the place, and retire unmolested.

A. R. 563.
Ant. C.
189.

The surrender of Ambracia very much advanced the conclusion of the peace. C. Valerius, the son of Lævinus, uterine brother of the Consul, who had contracted an amity with the Ætolians, was of great service on this occasion to obtain easier conditions for them. "Fulvius only required of them five hundred Euboic talents (something less than seventy-five thousand pounds) of which two hundred were to be paid down, and the rest in six half-yearly payments. That they should restore their prisoners and deserters to the Romans. That they should hold none of the cities, which, since the arrival of T. Quintius in Greece, had either been taken from the Romans, or had surrendered voluntarily. That the island of Cephallenia should not be included in the treaty." Though the Ambassadors had no room to expect such gentle treatment, they however demanded and obtained permission to return and consult their nation. The conditions of peace were accepted with unanimous consent.

The Ambracians made the Consul a present of a gold crown, that weighed an hundred and fifty pounds; and that General took away all the marble and brass statues and pictures in Ambracia, which were more in number, and of greater value than in any other city of the country, because Pyrrhus had formerly his palace there. But he took no other spoils from thence. He had done better, if he had not caused these statues and paintings to be carried to Rome, where this taste, the consequences of which were so pernicious, began to gain ground; and every body knows the bad effects it had there.

Liv.
xxxviii.
30, 11.

The Consul having set out from Ambracia, entered into the heart of Ætolia. The Ambassadors of the Ætolians came thither to him. Being informed by them, that the conditions of peace were accepted in a general assembly, he ordered them to go to Rome, permitted them to carry with them the deputies from Rhodes and Athens, to intercede for them with the Senate; and having also given his consent, that his brother

brother C. Valerius should accompany them, he went to Cephallenia. A. R. 553.
Ant. C.
189.

When the Ætolians arrived at Rome, they found the city highly prejudiced against them, by the letters which Philip had taken care to send thither. The repeated complaints of that Prince had shut the ears of the Senators against the request of the Ætolians. However, the Senate heard the Ambassadors of Rhodes and Athens with abundance of attention. Leon, who spoke in the name of the Athenians, used a similitude which, though common, made an impression upon them. "After * having compared Ætolia to a calm sea when the winds do not ruffle it, he added, that when those People continued in the alliance and amity of the Romans, it had been in effect of the tranquillity of their natural situation. But that Thoas and Dicæarchus, Mænetas, and Damocritus, blowing like tempestuous winds, the two first from Asia, and the two last from Europe, had occasioned the storm, which had driven them to Antiochus, as upon a rock where they had split." After many difficulties and delays, the Ætolians at length obtained peace, which was ratified almost upon the same terms as had been dictated by Fulvius. They were left at liberty to pay gold instead of silver, if they chose it, provided the † difference between one species and the other should be only as ten to one.

Whilst the Consul Fulvius made war in this manner, and afterwards peace with the Ætolians, Manlius his colleague also undertook a war in a region of Asia remote enough, against the Gauls settled in those countries, and called by the Romans Gallo-Grecians: I shall soon shew why they were so called, and where situated.

* Vulgata similitudine, mari tranquillo, quod ventis concitaretur, æquiparando multitudinem Ætolorum, usus, cum in fide Romanæ societatis mansissent, insita gentis tranquillitate quiesse eos aiebat: postea quam flare ab Asia Thoas & Dicæarchus, ab Europa Mænetas & Damocritus cepissent: tum illam tempestatem coortam, quæ ad Antiochum eos, sicut ad scopulum intulisset. LIV.

† The difference between gold and silver was in earlier times as fifteen to one. Gold by increasing, had lost a third of its value.

A. R. 563.

Ant. C.

189.

Liv.

xxxviii.

12.

The Consul came to Ephesus in the beginning of the spring, and had taken upon him the command of the troops from L. Scipio. After having reviewed them he assembled the soldiers, “ and having praised the valour, with which they had conquered Antiochus in a single battle, he exhorted them to act in the same manner against the Gauls, who had aided that Prince, and who were of so savage and untractable a disposition, that they had driven Antiochus beyond mount Taurus to no purpose, if they left so fierce and powerful a People on this side of it. He spoke of himself in few words and with modesty, without saying any thing, of which the truth was not known to all the world.” His discourse in effect was approved by every body. The soldiers did not much apprehend the Gauls, who having been defeated when joined with the numerous army of Antiochus, would be still less in a condition to resist the Romans alone.

Ibid. 16.

That People, about ninety years before the time of which we are speaking, leaving Gaul their native country in multitudes, either because it was too small to contain them, or from the hope of spoils, persuaded besides, that they should find no nation on their route equal to them in valour, arrived under the command of Brennus in the country of the Dardanians. At that time a sedition arose, which separated the nation into two bodies. The one remained with Brennus their first leader; these were those, whose disaster before Ephesus is so famous in history: the others, to the number of twenty thousand, having chosen Leonorius and Lutarius to command them, went with them to Thrace. There, by valiantly fighting those who endeavoured to stop them, and laying others, who demanded peace, under contribution, they forced their way as far as Byzantium; and during a long time caused all the cities of Propontis to pay tribute, of which they had made themselves masters. Afterwards knowing from their own experience how fertile the countries of Asia were, they resolved to go thither in order to settle. In consequence having seized Lyfima-

chia

chia by treachery, and subjected the whole Chersonesus by force of arms, they extended their power to the banks of the Hellespont. Perceiving from thence the rich country separated from them only by a very narrow arm of the sea, they conceived a still more eager desire to go thither. Accordingly they sent Ambassadors to Antipater the Governor on that side, to demand his permission for that purpose. But as he amused them with promises without concluding any thing, Lutarius passed the streight, and entered Asia, whither Leonorius soon followed him. When joined together, they aided Nicomedes King of Bithynia, who by their means became master of the whole country called by that name, of which Zybetes occupied a part. From Bithynia, they advanced into Asia. Of twenty thousand men, which they were at first, only ten thousand remained. However, they had implanted such a terror in all the States, that inhabited on this side of mount Taurus, that there was not one, which did not submit to pay them tribute, the most remote as well as those nearest them, those who had not made trial of their valour as well as those they had defeated. Lastly, as the body which remained was originally composed of three sects joined together, as the Tolistoboi, Troemes, and Tectosages, they also divided Asia Minor into three parts, each of which paid tribute to one of the three nations. The Troemes for their part had the coast of the Hellespont; Æolis and Ionia fell to the Tolistoboi; and the middle of the country to the Tectosages: so that they had rendered tributary all the part of Asia on this side mount Taurus. As to them, they established their abode in the neighbourhood of the river Halys, and this was properly the country called Gallo-Græcia. As most of the antient inhabitants were colonies from Greece, these Gauls mixed with them were called for that reason Gallo-Græcians. In process of time they multiplied so much, and became so formidable, that at length the Kings of Syria themselves did not refuse to pay them tribute. Attalus, the father of Eumenes,

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Ant. C.
189.

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Ant. C.
189.

was the first Prince that inhabited Asia, who had the courage to refuse it; and having given them battle, he gained a considerable victory over them, contrary to the expectation of all the world. But this did not discourage them so much, as to make them renounce their empire over the country. They retained their power till the war between Antiochus and the Romans. And even after that Prince was defeated and driven out of it, they with reason imagined, that remote as they were from the sea, the Roman army would not undertake to come against them.

Liv.
xxxviii.
12--15.

They were mistaken. The Consul formed the design of going to attack them. He was sorry for the absence of Eumenes, who was still at Rome; because that Prince perfectly knew the country and the enemy, and it was for his interest to be delivered from such incommodious neighbours as the Gauls. In his absence he sent for his brother Attalus from Pergamus, and having exhorted him to join him against the common enemy, he sent him back to prepare such aids as he was capable of supplying.

Some days after going from Ephesus to Magnesia, he met Attalus there, who came thither with a thousand foot, and two hundred horse. He had ordered his brother Athenæus to follow him with the rest of the troops, and had left the care of Pergamus to ministers, whose zeal and fidelity he knew. Manlius gave this young Prince the praises he deserved for his attachment to the interests of the Roman People, and went to incamp with him upon the banks of the Meander, till the barks were drawn together that were necessary for transporting his troops to the other side of that river, which was too deep to be forded. Athenæus joined him soon after, with a thousand foot of different nations, and three hundred horse. When the Consul arrived at Antioch upon the Meander, Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, came to him in his camp, bringing with him the corn, which his father, by the treaty concluded with Scipio, was obliged to furnish the Roman army.

From

From thence Manlius, setting out first, reduced all on his way either by consent or force. He met with some resistance in certain places ; but being infinitely superior both by the number and valour of his troops, he easily subjected them, and laid them all under contribution. The sums he made them pay, without including the corn he obliged them to supply, amounted to two hundred and twenty-five talents of silver, that is, two hundred and twenty-five thousand crowns.

After a very long march, he at length arrived upon the lands of the Tolistoboi. The Gauls were in great reputation throughout this country, which they had subjected by arms, and in which every thing had been made to submit to them. He thought it proper to prepare his troops, and to destroy this prejudice, before he came to action. “ I am not surprized, (said he to them) that the Gauls have spread the terror of their name amongst so soft and effeminate a people as these of Asia. Their tall stature, their fair hair that reaches to the small of their backs, their bucklers of enormous size, their long swords, besides the songs, cries, and howling which they raise before battle, with the terrible noise they make with their arms and shields ; all these may perhaps frighten men not used to them, but not you, Romans, who have so often triumphed over this nation. Besides which, you know by experience, that after the Gauls have spent their first fire, an obstinate resistance from an enemy blunts the edge of their courage, as well as the vigour of their bodies ; and that, incapable of bearing the heat of the sun, fatigues, dust, and thirst, their arms fall out of their hands, and they sink down weary and exhausted. Do not imagine these the antient Gauls inured to fatigue and danger, and to whom a certain natural ferocity served instead of courage. The plenty of the country they have seized, the mildness of the air they breathe, the effeminacy and voluptuousness of the people with whom they inhabit,

A. R. 563. " have entirely enervated them. * For it is with men,
 Ant. C. " as with plants. Those which grow in their native
 189. " soil, retain all their vigour and virtue; whereas
 " those which are transplanted into a foreign one, soon
 " degenerate. It is with justice that these people are
 " called Gallo-Grecians. They are only Phrygians
 " covered with Gaulish arms, and all that I fear is,
 " that the defeat of enemies so little worthy of your
 " swords, may not be much for your honour."

After this discourse of Manlius, the army by its cries declared its impatience to be led against the enemy. When they had passed the river Sangarius, the Gaulish priests of Cybele came from Pessinus to meet him in their sacerdotal habits, and pronouncing with enthusiasm prophetic verses, of which the sense was, that the Goddess granted the Romans a safe and an easy passage, victory over their enemies, and the dominion of all this region. The Consul answered, that he accepted the omen, and pursued his march.

Liv.
 xxxviii.
 19-23.

At length arriving in the enemy's country, he was informed that the Tolistoboi had taken refuge upon Mount Olympus; the Tectosages at some distance from thence upon another mountain; and that the Troemes, having left their wives and children in the camp of the latter, had resolved to go to the aid of the Tolistoboi. What had determined them to take this resolution, was the hope that the Romans would not march in quest of them upon inaccessible eminences; and that if they were so rash to undertake it, an handful of men would suffice to check and defeat them; and lastly, that they would not expose themselves to perishing by cold and misery at the foot of these mountains, in tenaciously resolving to remain there. Though they thought themselves already sufficiently defended by the height of the rocks and mountains, for their greater security they cut a fossé round

* Hi tam degeneres sunt; misti, & Gallo-Græci verè, quod appellantur: sicut in frugibus, non tantum semina ad servandam indolem valent, quantum terræ proprietates cœlique sub quo aluntur, mutant.
 Liv.

the eminences on which they were intrenched, which they strengthened with a good palisade.

R. A. 563.
Ant. C.
189.

The Consul, who had rightly expected that he should have the difficulty of the ways to contend with at a distance more than the arms of the enemy, had made an ample provision of javelins, darts, leaden balls, and stones of a bigness to be discharged with slings; and in this condition he incamped five miles from Mount Olympus. He soon arrived at the enemy's posts, though not without having sustained abundance of danger and fatigue. Both sides engaged at first at distance, the Gauls having the advantage of their ground, but the Romans that of the abundance and variety of their missive arms. The fight was not long equal. For the shields of the Gauls, which were long without much breadth, covered only a part of their vast bodies; and they had no other arms but their swords, of which they could make no use, as long as they fought at a distance. They had not taken care to provide themselves with quantities of stones, which were alone capable of being useful to them in this kind of combat; and those they had were soon exhausted. The Romans, on the contrary, galled them from all sides with arrows, javelins, and balls of lead, which they could not avoid. When the Gauls were wounded, by endeavouring to pull out the darts, which they could not effect, they only increased their pain, and rolled upon the earth like men mad and desperate. Those who persisted in charging the enemy were only the more dangerously exposed; and as soon as they were within reach, the Velites, that is the light-armed troops, killed them sword in hand. This kind of soldiers had shields three feet in length on their left arms, and in their right hand half pikes (*bestæ*) which they used at a distance; and if it were necessary to come to close fight, they put their spears in their left hands, and with their right used their Spanish swords, which hung at their belts. The few of the Gauls, who maintained their ground, seeing they could not withstand the light-armed troops, and
were

A. R. 563. were upon the point of having the legions upon their
 Ant. C. hands, fled in disorder into their camp.
 189.

The front of the legions being arrived upon the eminences, the Consul ordered the soldiers to halt in order to take breath, and shewing them the hill strewed with the dead bodies of the Gauls: "If troops
 "armed only with darts and slings," said he to them,
 "have made such a slaughter, what may we not expect from the legions armed at all points? The
 "light-armed soldiers have driven the Gauls into
 "their camp; it is your business to force them thence,
 "and to defeat them entirely." The Gauls did not long sustain the charge of so formidable an infantry. Seeing that those who defended the gates of their camp were all cut to pieces, they did not stay till the victors entered it, but fled on all sides. They threw themselves headlong across the most impracticable rocks. Most of them fell down the precipices, and either died immediately, or remained there with broken limbs. Nothing stopped them; the dread of the enemy engrossing their whole attention. The Consul pursued those who fled in all the practicable places, and made a great slaughter of them. The exact number of the slain was not known: that of the prisoners amounted to forty thousand, including women and children, and the other unserviceable people that had followed the Gauls.

The Consul, at his return, caused the arms of the Gauls to be laid in an heap, and burnt; and having ordered those who had taken spoils contrary to his prohibition, to bring them in, he sold part of them for the use of the public, and divided the rest amongst the soldiers, taking great care, that it should be done in equal proportions. Then, having assembled the army, he publicly gave each of them the praises and rewards they had deserved. He particularly praised Attalus, for which he was generally applauded by the officers and soldiers, faithful witnesses and judges of the merit of Generals. And indeed that young Prince, after having acted with extraordinary activity
 and

and valour in fatigues and dangers, had shewn still more estimable reserve and modesty after the victory.

A. R. 563.

Ant. C.

189.

There remained a second war with the Tectosages, who had not shared in the defeat of their countrymen.

Liv.

xxxviii.

24.

The Consul, after having given his troops some rest, set out in quest of them, and the third day arrived at Ancyra, a famous city of the country, from which the enemy were but ten miles distant.

During his stay there, one of his female prisoners

Liv. ibid.]

did a very memorable action: she was called Chionara, and was the wife of Ortiagon, one of the Gaulish Chiefs, or Princes, and was equally admirable for her beauty and chastity. She had been kept, amongst others taken at the defeat on Mount Olympus, by a Centurion, no less passionate for money than women. He at first endeavoured to engage her consent to his infamous desires; but not being able to prevail upon her and subvert her constancy, he thought he might employ force with a woman whom misfortune had reduced to slavery. Afterwards, to make her amends for that treatment, he offered to restore her liberty, but not without ransom. He agreed with her for a certain sum; and to conceal this design from the other Romans, he permitted her to send any of the prisoners she should chuse to her relations, and assigned a place near the river where the lady should be exchanged for gold. By accident there was one of her own slaves amongst the prisoners. Upon him she fixed; and the Centurion soon after carried her beyond the advanced posts with the favour of darkness. The next night two of the relations or friends of the Princess came to the rendezvous, whither the Centurion also carried his captive. When they had delivered him the Attic talent they had brought, which was the sum agreed on, the lady in her own language bad those who came to receive her, draw their swords, and kill the Centurion, who was amusing himself with weighing the gold. Then, charmed with having revenged the injury done her chastity by her courage, she took the head of that officer, which she

A. R. 563. she had cut off with her own hands, and hiding it
 Ant. C. under her robe, went to her husband Criagion, who
 189. had returned home after the defeat of his troops at Mount Olympus. Before she embraced him, she threw the Centurion's head at his feet. He was strangely surprized at such a sight, and asked her, whose head it was, and what had induced her to do an act so uncommon to her sex. With her face covered with a sudden blush, and at the same time expressing her fierce indignation, she declared the outrage which had been done her, and the revenge she had taken for it. During the rest of her life, she stedfastly retained the same attachment for the purity of manners, which constitutes the principal glory of the sex, and wonderfully sustained the honour of so bold and generous an action. Plutarch relates the same fact in his treatise upon the virtue and great actions of women, and it is from him we have the name of this, which is well worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

Liv.
 xxxviii.
 25—27.

The Tectosages having received advice of the Consul's arrival, sent deputies to him, to demand an interview, and to treat of peace : but their true design was to surprize him in ambuscades, which they had laid for him, and in which he really was in great danger. The army of the Gauls consisted of seventy-four thousand men. That of the Romans, which was much inferior in number, was infinitely superior in bravery, to which the perfidy of the enemy had added new spirit and ardour. In consequence, already conquered and dejected by the defeat of their countrymen, they did not sustain the first charge of the Romans, and fled. The victors pursued them with vigour, without being able however to kill above eight thousand of them ; all the rest having passed the river Halys before they could come up with them. Most of the victors stayed that night in the camp of the Gauls. The Consul led back the rest into his own. The next day he viewed the prisoners and the spoils, which were immense, having been accumulated by
 the

the most rapacious of all nations, which during many years had subdued by their arms, and pillaged, the rich countries on this side of Mount Taurus.

A. R. 563.
Ant. C.
189.

The Gauls having reassembled from all the places, to which they had dispersed in flight, most of them wounded, and without arms and equipages, sent Ambassadors to the Consul to ask peace of him. Manlius ordered them to come to him to Ephesus. For as it was now the middle of autumn, he removed as soon as possible from these parts, where the neighbourhood of Mount Taurus began to make the rigour of the cold season very sensible, and led back his army to winter along the maritime coasts.

Liv.
xxxviii.
27.

Whilst these things passed in Asia, every thing was quiet in the other provinces. At Rome the Censors T. Quintius Flamininus and M. Claudius Marcellus reviewed the Senators, and filled up the vacancies in it. Scipio for the third time had the name and quality of Prince of the Senate conferred on him. They excluded only four from it, none of which had exercised a Curule office. They acted with the same indulgence in the review of the Knights. On the muster which they made, the number of the citizens amounted to two hundred and fifty-eight thousand three hundred men.

All the cities of the island of Cephallenia had submitted to the Consul Fulvius. Only one refused to do so: this was Samos. He was obliged to form the siege of it. It made a vigorous defence, frequently sallying upon the besiegers, and almost always with advantage, killed them abundance of men, and set fire to all their works. The Consul could not effectually check their boldness without the assistance of an hundred slingers, which he sent for from the cities of the Achæans. They had been practised in this exercise from their infancy, being accustomed to discharge from a distance into a circle of a moderate bigness. They made themselves so expert in it, that they were sure of hitting the enemy not only on the head, but in what part of the face they pleased. They made use

Ib. 28, 29.

A. R. 563. use of slings different from those of the Balearians, and
 Ant. C. surpassed them much in dexterity. They did great
 189. execution against the Samians, who sustained the siege
 during four months entire. They were at length re-
 duced to surrender at discretion. The city was plun-
 dered, and the inhabitants sold for slaves.

A great quarrel arose at this time between the
 Achæans and Lacedæmonians, which had mournful
 effects to the latter. Both sides sent deputies to Rome.
 This affair, which properly relates to the Greeks, is
 treated at large in the Antient History.

A. R. 564.
 Ant. C.
 188.

M. VALERIUS MESSALA.

C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.

Liv.
 xxxviii.
 35, 36.

The new Consuls having drawn lots for their pro-
 vinces, Liguria fell to Messala, and Gaul to Salinator.
 The two Consuls of the preceding year were continued
 in command in Ætolia and Asia, in quality of Pro-
 consuls.

Public prayers were decreed during three days on
 the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, which was taken
 for a prodigy : so little was astronomy then known at
 Rome.

Ibid. 37.

During the winter in which these things passed at
 Rome, the Ambassadors of all the States, that inhabit
 on this side of Mount Taurus, repaired to Manlius to
 congratulate him, and express their own joy for the
 victory he had lately gained. Accordingly, if the
 defeat of Antiochus was more splendid and glorious
 for the Romans than that of the Gauls ; on another
 side, the latter had given their allies more joy than
 the former. For the absolute authority of the Kings ;
 that kept them in a kind of slavery, seemed more sup-
 portable to them, than the ferocity of those Barbari-
 ans, who, always ready to fall like an impetuous
 tempest sometimes on one country, and sometimes on
 another, kept them in perpetual anxiety and alarm.
 Thus, as the defeat of Antiochus had procured them
 liberty, that of the Gauls had restored their peace.
 Those

Those States therefore did not come merely to congratulate the Romans upon these glorious advantages, but they also brought them crowns of gold; each according to their power, out of gratitude.

That General also received Ambassadors from Antiochus and the Gauls themselves, who sent to ask the conditions upon which the Roman People would grant them peace. Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, also sent his, to make excuses to him, and offer satisfaction in money, for the fault he had committed against the Romans by aiding Antiochus against them. That Prince had a tribute of two hundred talents of silver laid upon him (two hundred thousand crowns). As to the Gauls, Manlius answered them, that they would know their fate, when King Eumenes should be returned to Asia. He gave very obliging answers to the Ambassadors of the allied States, and sent them back with still greater joy than they came. He ordered those of Antiochus to cause money and corn to be carried into Pamphylia, whither he was to repair with his army, conformably to the treaty made between L. Scipio and their master. And accordingly, in the beginning of the spring, having reviewed his troops, he arrived in eight days at Apamæa, where he resided three days: from thence in three more he entered Pamphylia. There he distributed the corn to his army which he had ordered to be sent thither, and caused the two thousand five hundred talents, which he had received, (about three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds) to be carried to Apamæa.

When Manlius had received advice, that Eumenes and the ten commissioners were arrived from Rome at Ephesus, he led back his army to Apamæa; where he ordered Antiochus's Ambassadors to come to him. It was here, that with the advice of the ten commissioners of the Senate, he put the last hand to the treaty began with Antiochus, and concluded it on the following conditions: "The King shall not give passage through his territories nor those of his vassals to any nation at war with the Roman People, or
" with

A.R. 564.
Ant. C.
188.

Liv.
xxxviii.
38.
Polyb.
Excerpt.
Legat.
xxxv.

A. R. 564. " with their Allies, and shall not aid their enemies
 Ant. C. " either with provisions or money, or any other sup-
 183. " port whatsoever. The Romans and their Allies
 " shall act in the same manner with regard to Antio-
 " chus. The King shall not make war upon the in-
 " habitants of the islands, and shall not go to Europe.
 " He shall evacuate all the cities, countries, towns;
 " and forts, on this side of Mount Taurus, as far as
 " the eminences aspecting Lycaonia. Nothing shall
 " be taken away from the cities, towns, and countries,
 " ceded to the Romans, except the arms worn by the
 " soldiers on marching off; and if any thing else be
 " taken away, the whole to be made good. The
 " King shall not receive into the countries dependant
 " upon him either the soldiers or subjects of King
 " Eumenes. If any citizens of the cities and coun-
 " tries he abandons, are either at his court, or in any
 " other part of his kingdom, they shall take care to
 " return to Apamæa before a certain day fixed. Such
 " of the subjects of Antiochus, as are amongst the
 " Romans or their Allies, shall be at liberty to re-
 " main with them, or to return into their own country;
 " at their choice. The King shall surrender to the
 " Romans and their Allies the slaves, prisoners, and
 " deserters, that belong to them. That he shall de-
 " liver up Hannibal, the son of Amilcar, Mnasilochus
 " of Acarnania, Thoas of Ætolia — if in his do-
 " minions and within his power. He shall deliver
 " up all his elephants, and shall not supply their places
 " with others. He shall deliver up all his ships of
 " war, with all their rigging, and shall retain only
 " ten small vessels without decks, of which none
 " shall have above thirty oars. The King shall not
 " navigate beyond the promontories of Calycadnus
 " or Sarpedon, if not to carry the money, tribute, or
 " hostages farther, or the Ambassadors he should
 " have sent abroad. He shall raise no soldiers amongst
 " the nations subject to the Roman People, and shall
 " not receive those, who shall present themselves vo-
 " luntarily to serve in his armies. The Rhodians and
 " their

“ their Allies shall retain the houses and other edifices,
 “ which they have in the dominions of Antiochus up-
 “ on the same foot as they possessed them before the
 “ war. They shall have liberty to sue for the pay-
 “ ment of the sums which shall be due to them, as
 “ also to find out and claim the effects of which they
 “ shall have been deprived, and demand restitution
 “ thereof. If any of the cities Antiochus is to sur-
 “ render, be in the hands of those to whom he may
 “ have given them, he shall take care to make the
 “ garrisons quit them, and to restore such places to
 “ those to whom they ought to belong. He shall pay
 “ the Roman People in twelve years, and in twelve
 “ equal payments, twelve * thousand Attic talents of
 “ silver of good alloy (about one million eight hun-
 “ dred thousand pounds) of which each shall weigh
 “ fourscore pounds Roman weight, and five hundred
 “ and forty thousand bushels of wheat: and to King
 “ Eumenes, in the space of five years, three hundred
 “ and fifty talents (about fifty-two thousand five hun-
 “ dred pounds) and an hundred and twenty-seven
 “ more (about nineteen thousand and fifty pounds)
 “ for the corn which he owes him, according to the
 “ estimate of Antiochus himself. He shall give the
 “ Romans twenty hostages, that shall be changed
 “ every three years, and which shall not be under
 “ eighteen, nor above forty-five years of age. If any
 “ Allies of the Roman People declare war first against
 “ Antiochus, he shall be at liberty to defend himself,
 “ and to repel force with force; on condition however
 “ that he shall not augment his dominions with any
 “ city, either by right of conquest or alliance. If any
 “ differences arise between the Allies of the Romans
 “ and Antiochus, they shall determine them amicably;
 “ or, if they choose, by arms. If it shall be found
 “ necessary to retrench from or add any thing to the
 “ conditions of this treaty, both sides shall be at

A. R. 564.
 Ant. C.
 188.

* In the treaty with L. Scipio Euboic talents were expressed, the
 value of which were something less than these.

A. R. 564. "liberty to do so, provided it be with their mutual
 Ant. C. "consent."
 188.

The Consul ratified this treaty by oath in the name of the Romans; and sent Q. Minucius Thermus, and Manlius to Antiochus, to make him also ratify it. At the same time Fabius, who commanded the fleet, set out by the Consul's order, and having entered the port of Patara, he there either destroyed or burnt fifty ships of war, which belonged to the King.

So haughty a Prince as Antiochus, who had hitherto seen all his enterprizes attended with success, and whom his conquests had acquired the surname of THE GREAT, must have been highly mortified, when he saw his pretended greatness humbled, annihilated, and covered with disgrace by such a treaty as that of which we have just repeated the conditions. Can we believe, that such an event could be the effect of chance? Fifteen or twenty years before, that Prince, after the death of Ptolomy Philopator his friend and ally, had made a league with Philip King of Macedonia to deprive that King of Egypt's son of all his dominions, who was then an infant scarce five years old. One would be tempted, says Polybius, on seeing so open a violation of the most sacred laws of society, followed, at least in respect to Antiochus, with a long and glorious prosperity, to accuse Providence, as indifferent and insensible to the most crying and most horrid of crimes. But Providence fully justified itself in punishing both those Kings as they deserved, and made them an example, which might serve to keep all such as should incline to imitate them in succeeding times within the bounds of their duty. For, whilst they had no thoughts but of parcelling out between them the kingdom of an helpless infant, they drew the Romans upon them, who entirely ruined the kingdoms of Philip and Antiochus, and made their children and successors experience as great evils, as those, with which they had vilely designed to crush the young monarch of Egypt.

We have this observation from a Pagan. But Pro-
 vidence was not contented in respect to Antiochus
 with the chastisement mentioned by Polybius. It
 thought fit to punish him in his own person. That
 Prince, after his defeat, returned to Antioch, the ca-
 pital and fortress of his kingdom. Soon after, find-
 ing it difficult to raise the money he was to pay the
 Romans, he went to the East into the province of
 Elymais, entered the temple of Jupiter Belus in the
 night, and took away all the riches which had been
 religiously kept there during a great length of time.
 The People, enraged by this sacrilege, rose against
 him, and destroyed him with all his attendants. The
 Prophet Daniel, who circumstantially foretold all the
 enterprizes of Antiochus in a surprizing manner, as
 may be seen in the Antient History, remarks also his
 death. "Then he shall turn his face towards the
 fort of his own land : but he shall stumble, and fall,
 " and not be found." This happened the same
 year that his treaty with the Romans was entirely
 concluded.

The Proconsul Manlius having received the ele-
 phants, which Antiochus was to deliver up, and hav-
 ing made a present of them to Eumenes, applied him-
 self to enquiring into the condition of the cities,
 wherein the late troubles had occasioned great changes.
 King Ariarathes was exempted from paying part of
 the sum laid on him, and received into the amity of
 the Roman People, in consequence of the marriage
 Eumenes had lately contracted with his daughter. As
 to the cities, when each had been heard, the ten Ro-
 man commissioners treated them differently. Those
 which had paid tribute to Antiochus, and had de-
 clared for the Romans, were made free, and exempted
 from all tribute. Those which had adhered to An-
 tiochus, or had paid tribute to King Attalus, were
 subjected to Eumenes. Several cities were particu-
 larly rewarded. The donation which had been made
 to the Rhodians by the first decree of Lycia and Caria
 as far as the river Meander, was confirmed. To the

A. R. 564.
Ant. C.
188.

kingdom of Eumenes they added the Chersonesus in Europe, and Lyfimachia with all its dependences, as they had been possessed by Antiochus: and in Asia the two Phrygias, the one near the Hellespont, and the other called Phrygia Major. They restored Mýsia to him, which King Prusias had taken from him. And lastly, they added to the gift Lycaonia, Mylias, and Lydia; and expressly the cities of Trallæ, Ephesus, and Telmissa. Pamphylia, which lay on both sides of Mount Taurus, had occasioned a dispute between Eumenes and the Ambassadors of Antiochus, the decision of which was entirely referred to the Senate.

Liv.
xxxviii.
40, 41.

Manlius, after having concluded the treaties, and made the decrees of which we have been speaking, set out with his army for the neighbourhood of the Hellespont, whither he summoned the Princes of the Gallo-Græcians, and told them the conditions of peace they were to observe with Eumenes. He declared to them, in express terms, that they must keep within their own country, without making incursions into the territories of their neighbours. Afterwards having drawn together all the ships of the coast, he joined the fleet which Athenæus, the brother of Eumenes, had brought to him from Elæa, and repassed into Europe with all his troops. Then leading his army laden with immense spoils of all kinds, by short marches, through the Chersonesus, he halted some time at Lyfimachia, to give the carriage beasts rest, and afterwards to enter Thrace, of which the route was very difficult, and much dreaded by the soldiers. This was not without reason. During this whole march, which was very long, they suffered much from the Thracians, who incessantly attacked them in the defiles, and dangerous passes, and even took from them part of their booty. They had two battles particularly, both to the disadvantage of the Romans, in one of which Q. Minucius Thermus, a person of consular dignity, and one of the ten commissioners sent to Asia by the Senate, was killed. King Philip was suspected

of having secretly influenced the Thracians to attack the Romans. At length the Consul, after having surmounted an infinity of obstacles, quitted Thrace, and led his army through Macedonia into Thessaly. From thence marching through Epirus to Apollonia, he passed the winter there, the sea not seeming safe enough for embarking in that season.

A. R. 564.
Ant. C.
188.

S E C T. II.

Two Romans delivered up to the Carthaginians. Liguria given to the two Consuls for their province. Fulvius accused by the Ambracians at the solicitation of the Consul Æmilius. Decree of the Senate in favour of the Ambracians. Departure of the Consuls. Manlius demands a triumph, which is disputed with him by the commissioners of the Senate. Speech of the commissioners against Manlius. Triumph decreed to Manlius. Scipio Africanus is summoned before the People. Grievances of the Tribunes against Scipio Africanus. Scipio, instead of answering them, carries the whole assembly with him to the Capitol, to thank the Gods for his victories. He retires to Linternum. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, Scipio's enemy, declares for him against his colleagues. Reflections of Livy upon P. Scipio. Different accounts of historians concerning Scipio. Scipio's daughter married to Gracchus. Law proposed concerning the sums of money received from Antiochus. L. Scipio sentenced for embezzling the public money. He is ordered to prison. Speech of Scipio Nasica in his favour. Gracchus prevents L. Scipio from being imprisoned. The sale and small value of Scipio's estate justify him.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

C. FLAMINIUS.

A. R. 565.
Ant. C.
187.

TOwards the end of the preceding year L. Minucius Myrtilus and L. Manlius, accused of having insulted the Carthaginian Ambassadors, were delivered

Liv.
xxxviii.
42.

A. R. 565.
Ant. C.
187.

vered up to them by the order of M. Claudius Prætor of the city, and carried to Carthage.

Upon the report which spread that great preparations of war were making in Liguria, the Senate allotted that province to both Consuls. Lepidus, dissatisfied with this destination, complained highly "that the two Consuls should be confined in the vallies of Liguria, whilst during two years M. Fulvius and Cn. Manlius reigned, the one in Europe and the other in Asia, in the room of Philip and Antiochus, spreading the terror of the Roman arms on all sides, and selling peace to the nations, on whom war had not been declared, for gold." The Senate made no change in the decree: they only ordered Manlius and Fulvius to quit their provinces, and march back their legions to Rome.

Liv.
xxxviii.
43.

M. Fulvius and M. Æmilius had long been enemies. The Consul made the deputies of Ambracia accuse Fulvius, and after having given them their lesson, he introduced them into the Senate. They accused Fulvius "of having declared war upon them at a time when they were at peace, though they had punctually executed all that the preceding Consuls had directed, and had offered himself the like submission and obedience. That he had besieged them, and after the city had surrendered, had made them suffer all the most cruel outrages and evils it is possible to imagine in war. That, not contented with having plundered, burnt, and demolished the houses, confiscated the estates of the citizens, and deluged the city with their blood, he had made the women and children slaves; and, what was still more grievous than all the rest, had taken away all the ornaments of their temples; sparing neither the statues of the Gods, nor the Gods themselves: so that the wretched Ambracians no longer knew where to address their prayers or pay their homage, unless it were to the walls whom he had left naked and disfigured." The Consul, after having heard these invectives, asked the deputies many questions, the answers to which he had concerted with them,
and

and thereby gave them occasion to say much more, as if it had been involuntarily.

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187.

The Senators seeming to be moved with these complaints, the Consul C. Flaminius thought himself obliged to take upon him the defence of Fulvius in his absence. "He reproached the Senate, that they suffered the Roman Generals to be exposed as formerly to frivolous and groundless accusations. He said, that he was much surprized, that actions should be made crimes to Fulvius, which ought to obtain the honour of a triumph. That Ambracia had undergone the calamities common to cities taken by force. That the Ambracians attempted in vain to separate their cause from that of the Ætolians: that there was no difference between them and the other. After many other reasons which he urged, he declared that he would suffer nothing to be determined either in the affair of the Ambracians or that of the Ætolians in the absence of Fulvius."

The opposition of Flaminius suspended every thing: but, unfortunately for the cause of Fulvius, he fell sick. Æmilius took advantage of this accident, and brought the affair again upon the carpet. "The Senate passed a decree, by which the effects the Ambracians complained they had been deprived of, were restored, with their liberty and laws; and permission was granted them to establish customs and duties wherever they thought fit both by sea and land; on condition, however, that the Romans and their Allies of the Latine name should be exempted from them. As to the statues of their Gods and the other ornaments, which they complained of having been taken out of their temples, they thought fit to wait the return of Fulvius for treating that affair, and left the decision of it to the college of the Pontifices." Æmilius was not contented with a sentence so much in favour of his enemy: but one day, when few Senators were present in their house, he caused these words to be added to the decree, "That Ambracia had not been taken by the force of arms." Surprizes of this

Liv.
xxxviii.
44.

A. R. 565. kind do not argue fair dealing, and are unworthy the
 Ant. C. gravity of a Roman Consul.
 187.

The *Feriæ Latinæ* were then celebrated, and the Consuls having discharged all the duties of religion, set out for their provinces.

Liv. Immediately after the Proconsul Cn. Manlius ar-
 xxxviii. rived at Rome, and the Prætor Ser. Sulpicius assembled
 45. the Senate in the temple of Bellona to give him audience. There, after having related all he had done in Asia for the advantage and glory of the Roman People, he demanded; first, that due thanksgivings should be made to the immortal Gods; and secondly, that he should be granted the honour of a triumph. But most of the ten commissioners of the Senate, who had been with him in those remote provinces, opposed it, and none so much as L. Furius Purpureo and L. Æmilius * Paulus.

Liv. *ibid.* They said, “ that they had been sent into Asia to
 45, 46. conclude and terminate in concert with Manlius the treaty of peace, which L. Scipio had began between the Roman People and Antiochus; but that Manlius had spared no pains to prevent the conclusion of the peace, and had even intended to carry his arms beyond mount Taurus: a design, from which the ten commissioners had found it very hard to dissuade him, by representing to him the calamities with which the Sibyl menaced the Romans, if they ever presumed to pass those fatal bounds.

“ That finding unsurmountable obstacles to that enterprize, he had turned his views and course a different way, and had declared war against the Gallo-Græcians, without being authorized either by the Senate or People, and without being able to produce the example of a single General, who had ventured to form the like projects of his own head. That the custom of the Roman People, before they proceeded to hostilities, was to send Ambassadors to demand reparation from those, of whom they had cause to complain.

* This is not the famous Paulus Æmilius who conquered Perseus.

That he had observed none of the usual formalities, that could justify him in saying, that he had made war in the name of the Roman People, and not acted as a private spoiler.

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“ But, as he was determined upon this enterprize, why did not he march directly against the pretended enemies? Why did he march and countermarch to search all the corners of Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Phrygia, in order rapaciously to extort sums out of the sovereigns, or petty tyrants of the fortresses situated in those countries? What quarrel had he with these States, who never did the Romans any hurt, and from whom they had no subject to complain?

“ They added, that in respect of the enemy, for the defeat of whom Manlius pretended to a triumph, the advantages he had gained were undoubtedly not much for his honour. That besides that these Gauls, enervated by the voluptuousness of Asia, were not the same in point of courage, as those against whom the Romans had so often fought in Italy, the recent fall of Hannibal, Philip, and Antiochus, had so much discouraged them, that the Romans had occasion only for the arrows and slings of their light-armed troops to overthrow those huge combatants, and that in the whole war, they had not once stained their swords with the blood of the enemy.

“ That for the rest, Manlius had good reason to demand, that public thanksgivings should be made to the immortal Gods. That indeed, without the peculiar protection of the Gods, the Roman army having incamped in a deep valley with the enemy over their heads, the Gauls, without using their arms, might have overwhelmed and defeated them entirely, by rolling down great stones upon them, with which the mountain supplied them in abundance. That afterwards, as if the Gods had thought fit to give the Romans a sense of what might have happened to them in Gallo-Græcia, if they had to do with enemies who deserved that name, their troops had been defeated, put to flight, and stripped of their baggage by some flying

A. R. 565. ing parties of Thrace, who waited for them on their
Ant. C. route. That these were the great exploits, for which
187. Manlius demanded a triumph.

The commissioners concluded where they began,
“ by insisting strongly upon the precautions taken in
all times for declaring war; and asking the Senate,
whether they thought fit to violate such wise regula-
tions, to abolish forms that were a part of religion,
to deprive the Senate and People of the privilege they
had always possessed of decreeing war and peace, and
to give up to the caprice and ambition of Generals
the power of attacking such States as they should
think fit.”

Liv.
xxxviii.
47—49.

When they had done speaking, Manlius replied to
the following effect: “ Hitherto, Romans, we have
“ sometimes seen the Tribunes of the People oppose
“ triumphs, when demanded by your Generals. This
“ obliges me to return the present Tribunes my thanks,
“ that either out of consideration for my person or
“ my actions, they have not only tacitly consented to
“ my triumph, but have also seemed in a disposition
“ to propose it themselves, if it had been necessary.
“ I have the grief to find my adversaries amongst
“ those commissioners, which our ancestors gave their
“ Generals to honour their victory, and regulate the
“ consequences of it with wisdom and justice.

“ Their accusation has two heads, as this assembly
“ may have observed. They pretend, that I had no
“ right to make war against the Gauls, and that I
“ made it with temerity and imprudence.

“ The Gauls, say they, committed no act of hos-
“ tility against us: you found them in peace and
“ tranquillity, and however attacked them. Would
“ to the Gods King Eumenes, with the magistrates
“ of all the cities of Asia, were present! You would
“ hear their complaints, and I should not find it ne-
“ cessary to accuse the Gallo-Græcians. Let Am-
“ bassadors be sent to all parts of Asia, to enquire
“ the truth upon the spot; and you would know from
“ them, that the slavery, from which you have deli-

“ vered

“ vered that country by obliging Antiochus to retire
 “ beyond Mount Taurus, was not harder than that,
 “ from which it has been delivered by the reduction
 “ of the Gauls. All those States will inform you,
 “ how many times that savage nation has ravaged
 “ their countries, how many times they have carried
 “ off all that they had of valuable and necessary,
 “ how many prisoners they have taken from them,
 “ without suffering them to ransom them, and lastly,
 “ how often they have sacrificed their children to their
 “ Gods, as barbarous as themselves. How! If An-
 “ tiochus had not withdrawn his garrisons from the
 “ citadels, where they remained in entire tranquil-
 “ lity, would you believe, that you had restored Asia
 “ to liberty; and do you imagine that Eumenes could
 “ peaceably enjoy the gifts you have made him, and
 “ the other cities the liberty they have received from
 “ you, whilst the Gauls were at entire liberty to carry
 “ terror and desolation wherever they thought fit?

“ But wherefore should I reason any longer upon
 “ a false supposition, as if I had not found the Gauls
 “ actually at war with us, and as if I had forced
 “ them to make it against us. I call you to witness,
 “ L. Scipio, you whom I succeeded in the command
 “ of the troops, and you P. Scipio, who was confi-
 “ dered by the army and your brother rather as a
 “ colleague than a lieutenant: say, don’t you know,
 “ that the Gaulish forces served in the army of An-
 “ tiochus; and if you did not see them fighting upon
 “ both wings, in which they constituted the strength
 “ of his army? The Romans ordered you to make
 “ war not only upon Antiochus, but upon all those
 “ who should have joined him against us. The Gauls
 “ were indisputably of that number, as well as some
 “ of the petty Kings and tyrants of that country. I
 “ was therefore in the right to treat them as ene-
 “ mies. However, I acted with all possible modera-
 “ tion in respect to them. I gave peace to the latter,
 “ reducing them to make a satisfaction suitable to
 “ your power, which they had injured. On the other
 “ side,

A. R. 565. " fide, I used my utmost endeavours to bring the
 Ant. C. " Gauls to reason, if their natural ferocity had been
 187. " capable of being mollified; and it was not till after
 " many attempts, that finding them always untracta-
 " ble, I thought it for our honour to use force to re-
 " duce them.

" After having justified the motives which deter-
 " mined me to undertake the war, it is now neces-
 " sary to speak of the manner in which I made it.
 " And in this second point, I should be assured of
 " gaining my cause, though I were even to plead it
 " before the Senate of Carthage, which, if what is
 " said be true, punish their Generals capitally when
 " they have formed rash enterprizes, however success-
 " ful in the event. But what confidence ought I not
 " to conceive, who have to do with a Commonwealth,
 " that never made enterprizes criminal to comman-
 " ders, to which the Gods have given an happy is-
 " sue, because it regards that as the effect of the
 " prayers and vows which have preceded those enter-
 " prizes; and in decreeing either thanksgivings to
 " the Gods, or triumphs to Generals, always uses
 " these remarkable terms, * FOR HAVING WELL AND
 " SUCCESSFULLY SERVED THE COMMONWEALTH.
 " When therefore, to avoid provoking envy, I decline
 " ascribing to my courage and good conduct the suc-
 " cesses I have had, and I content myself, after
 " having conquered so powerful a nation without any
 " loss, with asking that the due thanksgivings should
 " be paid to the immortal Gods for the good for-
 " tune they have vouchsafed your arms under my
 " command, and that myself might be permitted to
 " re-enter the Capitol in triumph, from which I set
 " out after having made the customary vows for the
 " prosperity of the Commonwealth, would you re-
 " fuse such honour to the Gods, as well as to me?

" It is objected to me, that I did not make choice
 " of an advantageous place for giving battle. Did

* Quod bene ac facilliter Rempubicam administravit.

“ that depend on me? The enemy being masters of
 “ the mountain, and resolving not to come down from
 “ it, it was absolutely necessary for me to attack them
 “ in their post, if I intended to defeat them. The
 “ same reproach may be made to our best Generals,
 “ who, especially in the last wars, have not always
 “ chosen advantageous posts for attacking the enemy,
 “ because it was not in their power: I do not yet com-
 “ prehend what idea they would give you, or frame
 “ to themselves, of the enemy. If they have dege-
 “ nerated so much as they say, and are so much ener-
 “ vated by the voluptuousness of Asia, what danger
 “ was there in marching to attack them upon the
 “ mountain? And if they retained the courage and
 “ strength of their ancestors, why do they refuse those
 “ a triumph, who have conquered so formidable an
 “ enemy? * Envy is blind, Romans. Its purpose is
 “ to degrade virtue, and to make it lose the honours
 “ and rewards it deserves.

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“ The same spirit of envy and jealousy shews it-
 “ self again in what they object to me concerning
 “ Thrace. They insist much upon part of our bag-
 “ gage being taken by those robbers, and the loss of
 “ some soldiers; and they take great care at the same
 “ time not to add, that upon the very day this mis-
 “ fortune happened, our troops defeated a great num-
 “ ber of these banditti, and that the following days
 “ they either took or killed many more of them.
 “ But what do they get by this affected silence? The
 “ whole army is ready to witness the two battles,
 “ which alone deserve the honour of a triumph.

“ I ask your pardon, Romans; if the necessity of
 “ a just defence, and not the desire of boasting my
 “ own actions, has made me expatiate too much.”

The accusation would upon this occasion have had Liv.
 the advantage of the apology, if the dispute had not xxxviii.
 50.

* Cœca invidia est, Patres Conscripti, nec quidquam aliud scit,
 quam detestare virtutes, corrumpere honores ac præmia earum. Liv.

A.R. 565. taken up the whole day without being decided. For
 Ant. C. the Senators withdrew in a disposition to refuse Man-
 187. lius a triumph. But the next day that General's re-
 lations and friends stirred so much, that they en-
 gaged the Seniors of the order in their interest, whose
 authority made the affair turn in favour of Manlius.
 They represented, that it was without example, that
 a General, after having conquered the enemy, left his
 province in peace, and led back his victorious troops
 to Rome, had been deprived of the honour of a
 triumph, and had re-entered the city as a private
 person without any distinction. The malignant jea-
 lousy of his enemies at length gave way to such wise
 remonstrances: they were ashamed of affronting a
 man of merit in so injurious a manner, and the whole
 Senate almost unanimously decreed him a triumph.
 There was, however, foundation to object to the con-
 duct of this General, who, as we shall see below, had
 not strictly kept up the discipline, and suffered the
 manners of his troops to corrupt. It is surprizing,
 that his enemies did not urge this point against him.

Liv.
 xxxviii.
 50.

A much more affecting accusation of an highly more
 illustrious and considerable personage, made the dis-
 pute of which I have been speaking be forgot. Two
 Tribunes of the People, both called Q. Pætilius, cited
 P. Scipio Africanus to take a trial.

Ibid. 56.
 Val. Max.
 iv. 1.

This event must seem strange, when considered with
 the sentiments of gratitude, respect, and admiration,
 which all the Romans had formerly entertained with
 so much justice and unanimity in favour of Scipio.
 They were desirous to erect statues of him in the Fo-
 rum, the tribunal for harangues, the Senate, and even
 in the temple and chapel of great Jupiter; and their
 zeal for his glory had rose so high, that they had in
 some sense equalled him with the Gods by decreeing,
 that his statue, habited in the ornaments of triumph,
 should be laid upon cushions like those of the Gods in
 the ceremony called Lectisternium. They had even
 conceived thoughts of creating him perpetual Consul
 and

and Dictator. But * Scipio, less passionate to receive honours than to deserve them, would not suffer any to be decreed him, that were above the condition of a citizen; and by that moderation, which prevented him from giving himself up to such excesses, he shewed as much wisdom as greatness of soul.

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187.

Accordingly, this first passion insensibly becoming less ardent as is usual, some years after Scipio's credit began to decline. The People always having him before their eyes, began by little and little to abate in their admiration of him. The consent and approbation which he had given during his consulship to the separate places of the Senators in the Games, was ill received by the public; and he experienced this decline of his authority, when it miscarried in opposition to Quintius in respect to the Consulship, which he canvassed in favour of his cousin Nasica.

It was in this manner, that the event which we are going to relate, was made way for. Those who envied him seeing his credit weakened, believed it in their power to attack him. Their accusation turned upon a pretended crime of embezzling the public money in the war with Antiochus. They affirmed, that he had received great sums of money from that Prince to grant him peace.

Every body judged of this proceeding according to their character or inclination. Some declared themselves not only against the impudence of the accusers, but against the baseness of the Romans in general, who did not oppose so unworthy an enterprize. "The two greatest cities of the Universe," said they, "have at the same time expressed the highest ingratitude for their principal citizens, but Rome in the most crying and inexcusable manner. For at length vanquished Carthage hath banished beaten Hanni-

* Quorum sibi nullum neque plebiscito dari, neque Senatus-consulto decerni patiendo, pene tantum in recusandis honoribus se gessit, quantum gesserat in emerendis. VAL. MAX. Hæc — ingentem magnitudinem animi, moderandis ad civilem habitum honoribus [significabant]. Liv.

A. R. 565. " bal, the author of all their calamities : but victori-
 Ant. C. ous Rome injures Scipio, to whom she is indebted
 187. " for her victory." Some on the contrary maintained,
 " that no citizen ought to be exalted so much above
 " the rest, as it should not be allowable to call him
 " to an account for his conduct. That the means for
 " preserving liberty in a Republic, was to reduce the
 " most powerful to the necessity of taking his trial and
 " defending himself, when it should be deemed pro-
 " per. To what private person, could any part of
 " government be confided, much less placing him at
 " the head of the Commonwealth, if he was not to
 " be accountable for his actions ? What Security
 " could there be for intrusting any person whatsoever
 " with the smallest interests, and much less with those
 " of the whole Commonwealth, if such person were
 " not obliged to give an account of his conduct ?
 " That it was not unjust to use force against any one
 " whatsoever, who could not suffer equality." Such
 was the discourse of the People till the day of trial.

Never did any citizen, not excepting Scipio himself
 whilst Consul or Censor, come into the Forum with a
 greater train of the citizens of all orders, than when he
 appeared at this time to take his trial.

Liv.
 xxxviii.
 51.

The Tribunes of the People, in order to dispose
 them for the present accusation, revived the old ca-
 lumnies which had been raised against him on the oc-
 casion of the pretended luxury and voluptuousness dur-
 ing his residence at Syracuse, and the commotions ex-
 cited at Locri in respect to Pleminius. But when they
 came to the crime of peculation, with which they then
 charged him, they could support it only with suspi-
 cions and conjectures, without producing any solid
 proof. " They said, that Antiochus had restored him
 his son without ransom, and that he had paid him the
 same deference, as if he had been the sole arbiter at
 Rome of war and peace. That in the province he had
 acted with the Consul as Dictator, and not as a mere
 lieutenant. That he had attended him thither only
 to shew Greece, Asia, and all the Kings and States of
 the

the East, what he had long persuaded Spain, Gaul, Sicily, and Africa, that a single man was the prop and support of the Roman empire; that Rome, that mistress of the universe, owed her safety only to the shadow of Scipio's name; that the least sign of his will had all the authority of the Senate's and People's decrees." In a word, not being able to make him criminal, they endeavoured to render him odious.

When * Scipio was ordered to answer, without saying a single word of the crimes objected to him, he spoke of his exploits with so much elevation and dignity, that no one had ever been praised either with more magnificence, or more truth. For the same spirit and courage, which had animated all his actions, appeared in his discourse, and the nicest ears could not be offended with a liberty, which he only used to defend himself, and not from the motive of vain-glory. The speeches having taken up the whole day, the affair was referred to another.

That being arrived, the Tribunes of the People ascended the tribunal of harangues early in the morning. The accused being summoned, broke through the croud, attended by a great number of clients and friends, and as soon as silence had been made in order to his being heard: "Tribunes of the People," said he, "and you fellow-citizens, it was upon this very day that I conquered Hannibal and the Carthaginians in Africa. So happy a one ought not to be passed in disputes, discussions, and prosecutions. I am therefore going directly to the Capitol to pay adoration to great Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, and the rest of the Gods who preside in that temple and citadel; and † to thank them for having given me

* Jussus dicere causam, sine ulla criminum mentione, orationem adeo magnificam de rebus ab se gestis exorsus est, ut satis constaret, neminem unquam neque melius, neque veriùs laudatum esse. Dicebantur enim ab eodem animo ingenioque, à quo gesta erant; & aurium fastidium aberat, quia pro periculo, non in gloriam, dicebantur. Liv.

† Hisque gratias agam, quòd mihi & hoc ipso die, & sæpe alias, egregiè Reipublicæ gerendæ mentem facultatemque dederunt. Vestrum quoque quibus commodum est, ite mecum, Quirites; & orate deos,

A. R. 565. “ on this, and many other days, the desire and ca-
 Ant. C. “ pacity to serve the Commonwealth with advantage
 187. “ and glory. Follow me, Romans, as many of you
 “ as have leisure, and love your country, and pray
 “ the Gods, that they may always give you Generals
 “ and magistrates who resemble me. I may speak
 “ thus with confidence, if it be true, that from my
 “ seventeenth year to the advanced age, to which I
 “ have attained, you have always preceded my age
 “ with your honours, as I have your honours with
 “ my services.”

After having held this discourse, he quitted the Forum, and walked towards the Capitol. That very moment the whole assembly followed him thither to the very clerks and serjeants of the Tribunes, who were left alone with their slaves and the crier, whom they had brought with them to cite the accused before them. Scipio went from the Capitol to all the temples of the city, still followed by the whole Roman People. * To judge aright of true glory, this day did Scipio more honour by the avowed esteem and veneration of the public, than that on which he entered Rome in triumph, after having defeated Syphax and the Carthaginians.

Liv.
 xxxviii.
 51.

This was the last of his days of glory. For foreseeing the differences which he should necessarily have with the Tribunes of the People, he took advantage of the delay of the trial to retire to Linternum, fully resolved to appear no more to defend himself. † His soul was too haughty, and his sentiments too elevated, besides which he had passed his life in too high a sphere, to descend to the suppliant, and to learn the humble part of a person accused.

deos, ut mei principes similes habeatis : ita, si ab annis septemdecim ad senectutem semper vos ætatem meam vestris honoribus anteistis, ego vestros honores rebus gerendis præcessi. Liv.

* Celebrator is propè dies favore hominum, & æstimatione veræ magnitudinis ejus fuit, quàm quo triumphans de Syphace rege & Carthaginiensibus urbem est invecus. Liv.

† Major animus & natura erat, ac majora fortunæ assuetus, quàm ut reus esse sciret, & summittere se in humilitatem causam dicentium. Liv.

On the day to which the affair was adjourned, when the accused was summoned, L. Scipio his brother said, that sickness prevented him from appearing. But the Tribunes would not admit that excuse. They pretended, that he had absented himself to avoid answering, in effect of the same pride that had induced him to quit the Forum, the Tribunes, and the assembly, to draw away with him to the Capitol his judges themselves, and to deprive them of the right and liberty of giving their suffrages. Then addressing themselves to the multitude: "You have," continued they, "received the just reward of your facility in suffering so rash an enterprize. You quitted us to follow him, and now you see he abandons you yourselves. We suffer our authority to decline every day in such a manner, that the person whom seventeen years ago you sent Tribunes of the People with an Ædile to seize and bring to Rome, though actually at the head of the army and fleet; now, when he is but a private individual, we dare not send to fetch from his country-house, in order to oblige him to submit to the judgment here to be passed upon him." L. Scipio having implored the aid of the other Tribunes, they passed a decree, by which accepting the alledged excuse of sickness, they declared that it was their intention that time should be given the accused, and that the trial should be deferred.

A. R. 565.
Ant. C.
137.

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, Scipio's particular enemy, was one of the Tribunes of the People. That magistrate having forbade his name to be inserted in the decree of his colleagues, it was expected, that he was going to declare against Scipio with the utmost rigour, when he spoke as follows. "As L. Scipio pleads his brother's sickness as an excuse for his absence, that ought to suffice. I will not suffer him to be proceeded against before his return; and even then, if he desires my aid, I will support him with my authority to dispense with him from answering. Scipio, by the greatness of his exploits, and the honours to which you have so often raised him, has,

Liv.
xxxviii.
53.

A. R. 565.
Ant. C.
187.

“ by the confession of Gods and men, attained to so
“ high a degree of glory, that it is more shameful for
“ the Roman People than for himself, to see him the
“ mark of the accusations and invectives of an indif-
“ creet multitude at the foot of the tribunal of ha-
“ rangues. What !” continued he, addressing himself
to the Tribunes with a tone and air of indignation,
“ Would you see Scipio, the conqueror of Africa, at
“ your feet ? Did he not defeat and put to flight four
“ of the most famous of the Carthaginian Generals
“ with their four armies in Spain ; did he not take
“ Syphax prisoner ; did he not conquer Hannibal ; has
“ he not made Carthage tributary to Rome ; has he
“ not, lastly, forced Antiochus, by a victory of which
“ his brother is contented to share the glory with him,
“ to retire beyond mount Taurus, only to sink under
“ the malignity of the Pætili, and to see them tri-
“ umph over him ? * How ! shall the virtue of great
“ men never find, either in its own merit, or the ho-
“ nours to which you raise it, an asylum and kind of
“ sanctuary, in which their age, if it does not receive
“ the respect and homage due to it, may at least find
“ refuge from insult and injustice ?”

The decree of Gracchus, and the discourse he added to it, made a great impression upon the whole assembly, and even the accusers themselves. They said they would reflect upon the affair, in order to judge what was consistent with their duty and authority. As soon as the People were retired, the Senators assembled, and the whole body, especially the seniors and persons of consular dignity, returned Gracchus great thanks for his having sacrificed his private resentments to the honour of the Commonwealth. The Pætili on the contrary were exceedingly reproached, † for having endeavoured to crush virtue to acquire themselves a

* Nullis-ne meritis suis, nullis vestris honoribus unquam in arcem tutam, & velut sanctam, clari viri pervenient ; ubi, si non venerabilis, inviolata saltem senectus eorum confidat ? LIV.

† Quod splendere aliena invidia voluissent, & spolia ex Africani triumpho peterent. LIV.

name; and for having fought, by triumphing over Scipio Africanus, to adorn themselves with his spoils. This affair was stifled, and no more was said of it.

A. R. 565.
Ant. C.
187.

Though that great man had distinguished himself in all the things that form the character of heroes, he however excelled in war more than in peace. The first part of his life was more memorable than the last, because he had passed his whole youth in camps and armies: whereas during the rest of his days he had few occasions of exerting the great talents he had received from nature. What did his second Consulship and his Censorship add to the glory he had acquired in the first? What splendor did his employment of lieutenant in Asia add to his first exploits, which was rendered useless by sickness, saddened by the taking of his son, and by the necessity under which he was, at his return, either to submit to an unjust judgment, or to avoid it by renouncing his ungrateful fellow-citizens for ever? The point of light of his greatness and glory, is the second Punic war happily terminated; the greatest and most dangerous Rome ever had upon its hands.

Liv.
xxxviii.
53.

Scipio passed the short time he lived afterwards in an obscure retreat, if compared with the lustre of his military exploits: but no less estimable and glorious for him, if we consider the constancy and equality of soul with which he bore this disgrace. These reverses of fortune often give the greatest of men sorrow, dejection, and anguish. The tumult and agitation in which they have always lived, make repose and solitude insupportable to them. Scipio bore his with the same courage which had rendered him invincible to fatigues and dangers. He confined himself to the manner of life of the antient Romans, that is, a simple and laborious one after their example, making it an honour and pleasure to himself to cultivate his land with his own victorious hands. Seneca, in a letter, which he dates from the very place to which the great Scipio retired, on mentioning the tomb that contained his ashes, cries out, that he does not doubt

A. R. 565. but the soul of that great man was returned to heaven,
 Ant. C. his true country, not because he had commanded
 187. great armies, for the same might be said of that weak and frantic King Cambyfes, but from the moderation and patience which he shewed in quitting Rome. "I * take great pleasure, says he, in comparing the manners of Scipio with ours. That great man, the terror of Carthage and support of Rome, after having cultivated his field with his own hands, used to bathe in this dark hole, (*balneolum angustum, tenebrosum ex consuetudine antiqua*) lived under this humble roof, and was satisfied with so gross a pavement! Who now would bear such a mean way of life?"

I do not doubt but a small number of noble friends visited him in this retreat, and were to him instead of all Rome. But history does not mention them; and we must not apply to him what is said of the intimate friendship between the second Scipio Africanus and Lælius, and of the rural diversions they took together. It is easy, without particular attention, to confound the two Scipios and the two Lælii with each other, in effect of their exceeding resemblance in many things. I am well persuaded, that the famous poet Ennius, for whom † our Scipio, whose victories he had celebrated, had a particular affection, did not fail of paying that most illustrious exile all the duties of a good friend in his retreat. It is no wonder that Scipio gave this poet great marks of his esteem and regard. He was convinced, that as long as Rome should subsist, and Africa be in subjection to Italy, the memory of his great actions could

* Magna me voluptas subit contemplantem mores Scipionis ac nostros. In hoc angulo ille Carthaginis horror, cui Roma debet quod tantum semel capta est, abluebat corpus laboribus rusticis fessum: exercebat enim opere se, terramque (ut mos fuit priscis) ipse subigebat. Sub hoc ille tecto tam sordido itetit: hoc illum tam vile pavementum sustinuit! At nunc quis est qui sic lavari sustineat?

† Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius. Itaque etiam in sepulchro Scipionum putatur esse constitutus. Cic. pro Arch.
 n. 22.

not expire: * but he also believed, that the writings of Ennius were highly capable of exalting the lustre, and of perpetuating the remembrance of them.

A. R. 565.
Ant. C.
187.

Livy says, that historians differ very much concerning the circumstances of the trial and death of Scipio Africanus. I shall relate only two instances on this head.

Some say, that he ended his days, and was interred at Rome, and others at Linternum. At both places his tomb and statue were shewn. Livy tells us, that he had seen his tomb and statue, which had been placed upon it at Linternum, but that a storm had thrown it down. We have just seen, that Seneca also believed that Scipio's tomb was at Linternum. On another side, there were in the time of Livy, without the gate called Capena, in the place where the monuments of the Scipios stood, three statues, one of which was said to be that of P. Scipio, the other of L. Scipio, and the third of the poet Ennius. It seems probable enough, that the second Scipio Africanus had caused these statues to be erected.

Scipio had two daughters. He himself married the eldest to P. Cornelius Nasica. It is agreed that the youngest was married to Tib. Sempronius Gracchus: but it is not certain, that Gracchus married her till after the death of Scipio Africanus: or that this alliance was contracted between the two families in the following manner, which seems to suppose that P. Scipio had not been cited before the People. It is related, that as L. Scipio was carrying to prison, Gracchus swore, that he was still an enemy of the Scipios, and that he had no desire to be reconciled with them: but that he would not suffer L. Scipio to be thrown into the same prison where P. Scipio his brother had caused the Kings and Generals of the enemy to be confined. It is added, that the Senators accidentally supping that

* Non incendia Carthaginis impia,
Ejus, qui domita nomen ab Africa
Lucratus rediit, clariùs indicant
Laudes, quàm Calabræ Pierides. HOR. Od. 3. lib. iv.

A. R. 565. day in the Capitol, rose in a body, demanded of Scipio Africanus to give his daughter in marriage to Tib. Gracchus, and pressed him to promise her to him in the midst of that solemn feast. That Scipio having complied with their request, told his wife Æmilia, on his return home, that he had promised their youngest daughter in marriage. That his lady, offended that he had not consulted her, replied, that though he had chosen Tiberius Gracchus for his son-in-law, he ought not to have made it a secret to a mother. That Scipio upon this, seeing his wife thought as he did of Gracchus, and charmed to find her sentiments agree with his in respect to what he had done, replied, that he had given her to Gracchus himself. This daughter was the celebrated Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, of whom much will be said in the sequel.

For the rest I believe, that in respect to the accusation of P. Scipio, we may rely upon what has been said before, which is taken word for word from Livy.

Liv. The voluntary banishment, or, as Livy says, the death of Scipio Africanus highly encouraged his enemies, the most considerable of whom was M. Porcius Cato *, who even during the life of that great man, through a virulence which does him no honour, had incessantly attacked him, and endeavoured to render a credit and glory so justly acquired, odious. The enmity of Cato, founded upon so evident a difference of characters, had broke out from the time he had been Quæstor under Scipio in the war of Africa. † It was a custom with the Romans, and a kind of law, for the Quæstors to respect the Generals under whom they served as their own fathers. Cato did not act in this manner. Disgusted with the great and noble manner in which that General lived, he left him at Sicily, re-

Liv.
xxxviii.
54.

* Qui vivo quoque eo Allatrare ejus magnitudinem solitus erat. Liv. It is hard to render the word ALLATRARE in French, but in English "to bark at," seems to come near the sense of it.

† Sic à majoribus nostris accepimus, prætorem quæstori suo parentis loco esse oportere. Divin. in Verr. 61.

turned to Rome, and incessantly exclaimed with Fabius in the Senate against Scipio's immense and useless expences. This enmity rose to the highest excess at the time of which we are speaking. It is believed, that it was at Cato's sollicitation, that the Pætiliî undertook to accuse him in his life; and that they brought on the affair again after his death, by proposing a law to the People, that the necessary enquiries might be made for knowing what was become of the money exacted from Antiochus and his subjects, which had not been brought into the public treasury. L. Furius Purpureo, a man of Consular dignity, one of the ten commissioners who had been sent into Asia, desired that this enquiry might extend to the Kings and States of those countries, in order to involve Cn. Manlius his enemy in the affair. L. Scipio, who was more concerned than any other person in the enquiry desired with so much ardor, seemed only sensible in respect to his brother's honour, and complained, "that this law was proposed precisely upon the death of that great man. That they had not been contented with depriving him of the funeral oration with which his death ought to have been honoured, but attacked his life with calumnious accusations. That the Carthaginians, satisfied with the banishment of Hannibal, carried their resentment no farther: but that the Roman People extended their hatred against Scipio so far, as to wound his reputation after his death, and to desire to sacrifice his brother to the envy of his enemies." Cato spoke in favour of the law proposed by the Tribunes. His discourse upon this subject was extant in the time of Livy. The authority of such a person obliged the Mummii Tribunes of the People, to desist from their intended opposition; after which all the Tribes gave their suffrages conformably to the intention of the Pætiliî, and the law was passed.

The Senate then nominated Q. Terentius Culeo Prætor, to take cognizance of this affair, regulate the enquiry, and determine in consequence. Immediately after L. Scipio was accused before him, with
his

A.R. 565. his two Lieutenants Aulus and Lucius Hostilius, fir-
 Ant. C. named Cato, and his Quæstor C. Furius Aculeo :
 187. and, to insinuate that all his officers had their share in
 the peculation, two registers or clerks, and a serjeant
 who had been employed under him, were included.
 But Lucius Hostilius and the inferior officers were
 acquitted, before Scipio was tried. L. Scipio, his
 Lieutenant A. Hostilius, and his Quæstor C. Furius
 were condemned, under pretext that Antiochus, in
 order to obtain more favourable conditions of peace,
 had given L. Scipio * four hundred and fourscore
 pounds of gold in weight, and six thousand of silver,
 more than he had brought into the public treasury ;
 to † A. Hostilius fourscore pounds of gold, and four
 hundred and three of silver ; and lastly, to the Quæ-
 stor Furius ‡ an hundred and thirty pounds of gold,
 and two hundred of silver.

Liv.
 xxxviii.
 58, 59.

The Prætor Q. Terentius having terminated this
 famous prosecution, Hostilius and Furius gave secu-
 rity for the sums in which they were fined. As to L.
 Scipio, as he protested, that he had caused all the gold
 and silver he had received to be carried into the public
 treasury without appropriating any thing, he was or-
 dered to be carried to prison. Upon which P. Scipio
 Nasica implored the aid of the Tribunes against that
 violence, and made a speech in which he not only in-
 cluded a true, and at the same time a very magnificent
 elogium of the house of Cornelia in general, but of his
 own branch of it in particular.

He said, “ That the two Scipios, Publius and Lu-
 cius his brother, who was to be imprisoned, and him-
 self who then spoke, were the sons of Cneus and Pub-
 lius, those two illustrious Generals who had made war
 so many years in Spain with the Carthaginian and Spa-
 nish Generals and armies ; and who, after having add-

* The gold amounts to about seventeen thousand pounds sterling:
 The silver to about twenty-two thousand two hundred and fifty pounds.

† The gold three thousand pounds. The silver seventeen hundred
 pounds.

‡ The gold five thousand two hundred and fifty pounds.—The sil-
 ver, seven hundred and fifty pounds.

ed to the glory of the Roman name, not only by their military virtues, but the example of temperance, justice, and faith, which they had given those nations, had at length both been killed fighting gloriously for the Commonwealth. That it had been no small honour for their children to sustain the reputation of their fathers : but that Scipio Africanus had so much surpassed his in glory, and had raised himself so much above the condition of other mortals, that the Romans were convinced, he was descended from the Gods. That as to L. Scipio, who was at present in question, not to mention what he had done in Spain and Africa as his brother's Lieutenant, the Senate, after having elected him Consul, had conceived so high an idea of his capacity, that they had in a peculiar manner granted him the province of Asia, and had commissioned him to make war against Antiochus; and that his brother's esteem for him had induced him to serve under him as his Lieutenant, he who had been twice Consul and Censor, and who had triumphed over Hannibal and the Carthaginians. That in this war, as if fortune had designed to prevent the glory of the Lieutenant from obliterating that of the Consul, P. Scipio had been left sick at Elæa, where he continued at the time his brother had given Antiochus battle, and defeated him near Magnesia. That to find a pretence for accusing the victor after a peace, it was supposed that he had sold it. That it did not appear, that the same reproach extended to the ten commissioners, with whose advice Scipio had concluded it. That even amongst those ten commissioners there were some who had accused Cn. Manlius, not only without obtaining entire credit, but without being able to suspend his triumph in the least.

“ But it is pretended, that the conditions of peace granted Antiochus by Scipio, render that General suspected of having favoured an enemy at the expence of the Commonwealth. Some are so bold as to advance, that his whole kingdom has been left him, and that he has lost nothing of what he possessed before

his

A. R. 565.
Ant. C.
187.

A. R. 565.
Ant. C.
187.

his defeat. And they venture to say, that of all the gold and silver exacted from that Prince, no part has been brought into the public treasury; and that the whole has been appropriated to private advantage. How great a calumny is this! Was not as great a quantity of gold and silver shewn to the public on the day of Scipio's triumph, as the whole spoils of ten triumphs together, chuse which we will, could not equal? What need I mention the bounds set to the dominions of the conquered Prince, to an whole People who know that before the battle Antiochus was master of all Asia, and the countries of Europe adjacent to it? Nobody is ignorant that the country from Mount Taurus to the Ægean sea, forms a great part of the universe, and contains a great number not only of cities, but of provinces and nations. That this whole region, which is above thirty days march in length, and more than ten in breadth between the two seas, has been taken from Antiochus, and that he has been banished to the extremity of the world. Admitting that peace was not sold him, which is true, could a greater part of his dominions be taken from him? That after Philip and Nabis were conquered, the first had been left Macedonia, and the other Sparta. That this had not been made criminal to Quintius; without doubt because he had not a brother like Scipio Africanus, whose glory drew envy upon him, instead of preserving him from calumny. That though the whole estate of Scipio were to be sold, including a great number of inheritances that had fallen to him, they would scarce amount to the sum which he was declared to have appropriated to his own advantage. How then could any body suppose that he had received so much money from Antiochus? That in an house, not exhausted by luxury, a considerable increase of riches should be found, if the accusation formed against Scipio had any foundation. That the enemies of that General, not being able to find the sum, in which they had caused him to be condemned, by the sale of his goods, were going to satiate their
envy.

envy and hatred upon his person, by loading so illustrious a man with chains, and throwing him into a dungeon, to be the companion of thieves and assassins, and in which he would expire miserably, to be afterwards thrown out of the prison-gates. That so unworthy a treatment would reflect more disgrace upon the city of Rome, than upon the house of the Corneli.

A. R. 565.
Ant. C.
187.

The Prætor Terentius contented himself to oppose Nasica with the law Pætilia, the decree of the Senate, and the sentence passed against Scipio, which he ordered to be read; adding, that if he did not cause the sum in which he had been condemned to be paid into the public treasury, he could not dispense with sentencing him to be imprisoned. The Tribunes of the People having retired to deliberate, Fannius returned a moment after, and declared for himself and his colleagues, except Gracchus, that the Tribunes did not oppose the execution of the sentence.

Liv.
xxxviii.
60.

Ti. Gracchus then said, "That he would not hinder the sums which Scipio was condemned to repay unto the treasury from being levied upon his estate; but that he would never suffer a General to be imprisoned with the enemies of the Roman People, who had conquered the most powerful King of the world; who had extended the bounds of the empire to the extremities of the universe; who had attached to the Romans, Eumenes, the Rhodians, and so many other cities and States of Asia by the many obligations he had laid upon them in the name of the Roman People; and lastly, who had laid so many of the Generals of the enemy in prison; and that he decreed that he should not be deprived of his liberty." The decree of Gracchus was received with so much applause, and Scipio's liberty gave the whole People so much joy, that it might have been thought it was at some other place and not at Rome that he had been condemned.

The Prætor afterwards ordered the Quæstors to confiscate and cause the estates of L. Scipio to be sold.

Liv. *ibid.*

There

A. R. 565. There not only appeared no sign of having received
 Ant. C. money from Antiochus, but the sale did not produce
 187. the twenty-seven thousand pounds required of him. His relations, friends, and clients, raised a contribution amongst themselves, and offered him so considerable a sum, that if he had accepted it, he had been much richer than he was before his sentence. He thanked them all for their generosity, but would take nothing: he only suffered his nearest relations to buy such of his moveables for him as were necessary for living with decency; and the public hatred, to which the Scipios had been victims, retorted upon the Prætor, the judges, and the Accusers.

When we consider the accusations formed against these two great men, we may well cry out with Scipio: "Oh! * how often are the citizens, most zealous for the honour of the Commonwealth, and who have rendered it the greatest services, to be lamented, as their great actions are not only forgot, but even the greatest crimes are imputed to them!"

* Miseros interdum cives, optimè de republica meritos! in quibus homines non modò res præclarissimas obliviscuntur, sed etiam nefarias suspicantur. Pro. Mil. 83.

S E C T. III.

Description of the country of the Ligurians, the perpetual enemies of the Romans. They are subjected by the two Consuls. Justice done the Galli Cenomanes. Regulation in respect to the Latin Allies. M. Fulvius demands a triumph, and obtains it, notwithstanding the opposition of a Tribune of the People. Strange and abominable fanaticism of the Bacchanalians discovered, and punished, at Rome. Q. Marcius is surprized, beaten, and put to flight by the Ligurians. Better success in Spain. Combat of Athletæ. Origin of the war with Persens. Philip's grievances in respect to the Romans. He prepares for renewing the war. Upon the complaints of several States against Philip, Rome sends three commissioners

missioners into their countries, who, after having heard the several parties, make regulations. Good success in Spain, and in Liguria. Return of the commissioners from Greece to Rome. The Senate sends new deputies thither. Philip causes the principal persons of Maronæa to be assassinated. He sends his younger son Demetrius to Rome.

WHILST part of the things of which we have been speaking passed; the two Consuls made war in Liguria. This nation seemed destined to exercise the arms of the Romans, and to keep up their military discipline at the times when they had no important wars to sustain. There was no province so proper as this for keeping the soldiery employed. For Asia, by the beauty and charms of its cities, the abundant luxury with which both the land and sea supplied it, the effeminacy of the enemy they acted against, and the opulence of its Kings, sent home the Roman armies richer, but did not render them more warlike. This was particularly experienced under Cn. Manlius, who, from having indulged the troops in too great a licentiousness in that country, suffered a considerable defeat in Thrace, where he found the ways more difficult and the enemy more warlike. On the contrary, in Liguria every thing contributed to keep the troops in play and attentive to their duty: a rough country full of mountains; steep and narrow passes, with perpetual ambuscades; active and vigorous enemies, who fell upon them when they least expected it; fortresses strong by art and nature, which they were under the necessity of attacking by exposing themselves to continual labours and dangers; and lastly, a poor and barren country, in which the soldier was obliged to live hardly, without hope of gaining considerable spoils to make them amends for their fatigues.

The Consul C. Flaminius several times defeated the Ligurians, called Friniates, in their own country, reduced them to submit to the power of the Romans, and

A. R. 565.
Ant. C.
187.
Liv.
xxxix. 1.

Ibid. 2.

A. R. 565. and took away their arms. But, as they had conceal-
 Ant. C. ed the greatest part of them, they soon resumed them,
 187. quitted their towns, dispersed into the inaccessible places
 and steep rocks; and not believing themselves suffi-
 ciently safe there, they passed the Appennine moun-
 tains. The General pursued them thither, and after
 they had defended themselves for some time upon the
 eminences to which they had retired, he obliged them
 to surrender. He then made a stricter search for their
 arms, and deprived them entirely of them. He then
 marched against the Ligurians called Apuani, who
 had made such frequent incursions into the territories
 of Pisa and Bologna, that it had not been possible for
 the inhabitants to sow their lands. Having also sub-
 jected that people, he secured the peace and tranquil-
 lity of all the neighbouring parts, who gave him the
 highest praises and thanks. This kind of expeditions,
 which are very laborious and disgusting in themselves,
 but at the same time very beneficial, render a General,
 who employs his whole care upon them without re-
 mission, the more estimable, as they have nothing
 shewy in them, or that soothes the ambition of a war-
 rior. He thought himself sufficiently rewarded by
 the pleasure of doing good to mankind, and of pro-
 curing them repose. * Something of this kind we see
 in our times.

Flaminius not being able to employ his troops longer
 in war in a country where he had left them no enemies,
 set them to work upon a † Way from Bologna to Ar-
 retium. This was an admirable custom of the Ro-
 mans, who considering inaction and idleness as a fatal
 source of effeminacy and vice, always kept their sol-
 diers employed, either in military or public works.
 This perpetuated so exact and severe a discipline a-
 mongst their troops, and at the same time rendered
 them indefatigable and invincible.

* Mr. Rollin seems here to allude to Corsica.

† We must not here confound the great road in question, with that
 called the Via Flaminia, which was made during the administration
 of this Consul's father, that is, the Consul killed in the battle of Thra-
 symenus.

The Consul M. Æmilius attacked other Ligurian States with the same vigour and success. He deprived them all of their arms, and made them come down from the mountains into the plains. Having re-established peace in Liguria, he marched his troops into the lands of the Gauls, and made a great road from Placentia to Ariminum, where it joined the Via Flaminia.

Furius, the Prætor of Gaul, seeking in peace a pretext for making war with the Cenomanes, with whom he had no subject of discontent, had attacked, and disarmed them. That People sending to Rome to complain of this injustice, were referred to the Consul Æmilius, and having pleaded their cause before that General, whom the Senate had impowered to decide it, were declared innocent, and Furius had orders to quit the province.

The Senate afterwards gave audience to the deputies of the Allies, who, from all parts of Latium, were come to represent that great numbers of their people were settled at Rome, and caused themselves to be included in the Census with those of the city. The Prætor Q. Terentius Culeo was appointed to make the enquiry, and to send home all those into their country, whom the deputies should prove to have been inrolled there, either in their own persons or by their fathers, during the censorship of C. Claudius and M. Livius, or that of their successors. This enquiry sent home twelve thousand Latines into Latium, and discharged Rome of the multitude of strangers who began to be a burthen to it.

Before the Consuls returned to Rome, the Proconsul M. Fulvius arrived there from Ætolia. After having given the Senate an account in the temple of Apollo of what he had done in Ætolia and Cephallenia, he desired the Senators, in the usual form, to decree that, for the success of his arms, due thanks might be returned to the Gods, and that he might be permitted to enter the city in triumph. The Tribune M. Aburius declared, that he opposed whatever might be

A. R. 565.
Ant. C.
187.

Liv.
xxxix. 3.

Ibid. 4.

A. R. 565. decided in that respect before the arrival of the Con-
 Ant. C. sul Æmilius. He added, “ that that magistrate had
 187. reasons to alledge against the demand of Fulvius, and
 that in setting out for his province he had desired him
 to prevent any thing from being resolved in that res-
 pect till his return. That this delay did Fulvius no
 prejudice, and that the Senate would still be at liberty,
 even in the presence of the Consul, to decree what
 they should deem proper.”

M. Fulvius replied, “ that though the public were
 not apprized of the enmity Æmilius bore him, and
 of the animosity and almost tyrannical haughtiness
 with which that Consul carried on his bad proceed-
 ings against him even to excess; it would be highly
 inconsistent that his absence should defer the duty
 owed to the Gods, and the reward himself had de-
 served; and that a General should be stopt at the
 gates of Rome, who had fought successfully for the
 glory of the Commonwealth, with the victorious army,
 the prisoners he had brought with him, and the spoils
 with which the troops were laden, till it should please
 the Consul, who stopped on purpose, to return into
 the city. But what justice could he expect from a
 magistrate, who abandoned himself to passion and ha-
 tred to such a degree, as to have a decree clandestinely
 passed by a small number of Senators to declare
 that Ambracia had not been taken by force of arms;
 whilst it was certain, that it had been necessary to em-
 ploy mantles, towers, and battering rams for making
 breaches in the walls; that they had been obliged to
 make new batteries in the room of those which the
 besieged had burnt and destroyed; that they had
 fought fifteen days round the walls above and under
 ground; that the soldiers, when masters of the walls,
 were forced to fight from morning till night; and
 lastly, that more than three thousand of the enemy
 had been killed during the siege. That he had car-
 ried his enmity so far as to accuse him before the Pon-
 tiffs of having plundered the ornaments of the tem-
 ples in a city taken by force of arms: as if it had
 been

been allowable to take away the spoils of Syracuse and other cities to adorn Rome with them, and Ambracia was a privileged city, and the only one from which nothing could be carried off without committing sacrilege. That he implored the Senators and the Tribune himself not to expose him to the intended injuries of an enemy actuated by pride and haughtiness."

A. R. 565.
Ant. C.
187.

The Senators immediately began, some to intreat the Tribune to desist from his opposition, and others to reproach him. But what most served Fulvius, was the speech made by Ti. Gracchus, one of Aburius's colleagues. He said, "that he abhorred to use the power of his office even against his own enemies: but that nothing was more shameful nor more unworthy of a Tribune of the People, than to use the authority given them by the sacred laws to gratify the passions of any one. * That it was from the sentiments of the heart People love or hate, and from reason that they should either approve or condemn, and not the caprice of others, in making it a rule, and blindly giving into it. That the Tribune was in the wrong to support the unjust hatred of the Consul, to regard the particular orders he had given him, and to forget that the Roman People had confided the Tribunitian power to him to aid the citizens when necessary, and maintain them in the enjoyment of their liberty, and not to favour the tyranny of Consuls. That he did not reflect, that posterity would know to his disgrace, that of two Tribunes of the People of the same year, the one had sacrificed his private resentments to the general good of the Commonwealth, and the other had pursued those of another, through no other motive but a mean compliance with him who had commanded it."

The Tribune gave in to these remonstrances; and when he had quitted the assembly, a triumph was de-

* *Suo quemque judicio & homines odisse aut diligere, & res probare aut improbare debere, non pendere ex alterius vultu ac nutu, nec alieni momenti animi circumagi.* Liv.

A. R. 565. creed to M. Fulvius. The latter, having been in-
 Ant. C. 187. formed that Æmilius, to whom the Tribune had wrote
 that he had desisted, after having set out to oppose this
 ceremony in person, had been taken sick upon the
 way, anticipated the day of his triumph, that it might
 precede the Consul's return, and the new disputes
 which he would have upon his hands with an enemy
 so virulent against him. Besides very considerable sums
 of gold and silver, arms, machines of war, and other
 spoils of the enemy, with twenty-seven officers of di-
 stinction prisoners of war, which adorned this triumph;
 two hundred and eighty-five brass statues, and two
 hundred and thirty marble ones were carried in it; fa-
 tal nourishment of the taste for those works of art,
 which began to prevail at Rome, and soon after made
 such terrible havock! The Triumpher caused five and
 twenty denarii to be distributed to each of his soldiers
 (about twelve shillings and six-pence) twice as much to
 the Centurions, and thrice to the horse.

Towards the end of the year Cn. Manlius Vulso tri-
 umphed over the Gauls who inhabited Asia. He had
 deferred his triumph, through fear of being cited to
 a trial in virtue of the law Pætilia during the Prætor-
 ship of Q. Terentius Culeo, and of being the victim
 of the enemy that had crushed L. Scipio. He knew,
 that the judges would be more inexorable in respect to
 him, than they had been in the affair of his predeces-
 sor, because he had suffered the soldiers to live in a
 general licentiousness, that had absolutely ruined the
 military discipline which Scipio had caused to be ob-
 served with great severity. And it was not only the
 account of the excesses into which they had ran in the
 province, and out of the sight of the citizens, that
 rendered them odious; but still more those to which
 they abandoned themselves every day before the eyes
 of the Roman People. For * it was Manlius, and

* *Luxuriæ peregrinæ origo ab exercitu Asiatico inuenta in urbem est—Tum psaltriæ sambucistriæque, & convivalia ludionum oblectamenta addita epulis. Epulæ quoque ipsæ & cura & sumptu majore apparari cœptæ. Tum coquus, vilissimum antiquis mancipium, & esti-*
 matione

those who had served under him, who introduced the luxury and voluptuousness of Asia at Rome. It was they who brought in the beds adorned with brass, rich tapestry, curtains for beds and litters, and other works laboured with art, and which was considered then as the height of luxury, tables standing upon a single foot, and buffets. It was they who to the pleasures of the table added that of music, having in their pay female players upon the harp and other instruments, buffoons, actors, and the like sort of people, whose trade it was to divert the guests whilst at table. At this time they began also to cook their dishes with more pains and delicacy. And in consequence, a cook, who of old was the meanest of all slaves, was considered as the most necessary, and most esteemed servant of the house; and that which was at first considered as the vilest and most contemptible of offices, became a considerable and important employment. But these excesses, the novelty of which surprized at that time, were only a faint image of the enormous luxury into which the Romans plunged afterwards.

A. R. 565.
Ant. C.
187.

Manlius's triumph was very splendid and magnificent. The whole army in general, in the military songs which usually attended that pomp, gave him the praises which manifestly proceeded from his facility and indulgence. This occasioned his triumph to be more applauded by the soldiers than the people.

SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

A. R. 566.
Ant. C.
186.

Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

A kind of intestine conspiracy, covered with the pretence of religion, kept the two Consuls this year at Rome, and did not leave them at liberty to employ themselves in military expeditions. A certain Greek of neither birth nor note came first to Tuscany, and brought thither new sacrifices, or more properly, fran-

Liv.
xxxix.
2—19.

matione & usu, in pretio esse; &, quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi coepta. Vix tamen illa, quæ tum conspiciantur, semina erant futuræ luxuriæ. Liv.

A. R. 566.
Ant. C.
186.

tic and criminal superstitions. He was not one of those, who, for subsistence, profess publicly some religious worship, and teach people rites and ceremonies which include nothing contrary to the interests and laws of society. His mysteries were unknown, and celebrated in secret. At first he initiated only a small number of persons : but he soon admitted indifferently all who offered themselves of either sex. And in order to attract a greater number, he prepared them with the pleasures of wine and feasting. The darkness of the night giving room for abandoned licentiousness, all kinds of crimes and abominations were committed at these meetings. So horrid a libertinism was not the only vice of these nocturnal assemblies. Abundance of other crimes issued from the same corrupt source ; as false witness, forgery of wills and other writings, informations against innocent persons, poisoning, and lastly, murders committed so secretly, that the very bodies of the unhappy persons were not found to have interment.

These abominations from Tuscany reached Rome like a contagious disease that spreads gradually. The greatness of the city kept them concealed some time, as usually happens. But at length it came to the knowledge of the Consul Postumius in the following manner. P. Æbutius, the son of a Roman Knight, having lost his father, and his mother (whose name was Duronia) having married again, he had fallen into the hands and guardianship of Sempronius his father-in-law. The latter, who had managed his pupil's estate so as not to be capable of giving an account of it, conceived thoughts of ridding himself of the young man. The means which seemed to him most proper for that end, was to cause Æbutius to be initiated in this sect of the Bacchanalians. His wife, to whom he had imparted his design, proposed it to the young man, and told him that during the time he had been sick, she had vowed to the Gods, that she would initiate him amongst the Bacchanalians as soon as he recovered. He readily consented to accomplish a vow,

to which he believed himself indebted for his life, and made certain prescribed preparations for it, of which one of the principal consisted in abstaining from women during ten days. This young man had contracted a commerce with a courtesan, who lived in the neighbourhood, called Hispala Fæcenia. She had sentiments uncommon to persons of her profession, and had attached herself to young Æbutius out of esteem and affection, and not at all from the motive of interest. By her liberality, he was enabled to live in an handsome manner, which he could not otherwise have done through the avarice of his father-in-law, and even of his mother, who in respect to him was become a very mother-in-law.

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Ant. C.
186.

As the young man concealed nothing from her, he declared to her that he intended to be initiated in the mysteries of the God Bacchus, and told her the reason. "May the Gods forbid," cried out Hispala, terrified with what he said, "and rather give us both death, than suffer you to execute so fatal a design." Æbutius surprized at her discourse, and still more at the concern of Hispala, desired her to explain herself. She told him, that when she was a slave, she had waited upon her mistress to these mysteries, where she had never been since she had been free: but that she had seen enough at them to convince her, that there was no kind of vices to which persons did not abandon themselves in these nocturnal assemblies. She did not quit him, till she had made him swear, that he would entirely renounce such detestable mysteries.

After this conversation, he went home to his mother's; and on her telling him what he must do that and the following day to prepare himself for the ceremony of which she had spoke to him, he declared to her in the presence of his father-in-law, that he would not be initiated. Duronia immediately cried out in a rage, that Hispala had given this advice: that enchanted by the poisonous charms of that Circe, he regarded neither his father, mother, nor the Gods. The dispute growing warm by degrees, Sempronius

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and Duronia turned him out of doors. The young man went directly to his father's sister Æbutia, and told her the reason for his mother's turning him out of her house. The next day, by the advice of that lady, he went to the Consul Postumius, to whom he secretly told all he knew of these nocturnal mysteries. That magistrate, having heard him, dismissed him with orders to return three days after. That time he employed in making the necessary enquiries. He began by Æbutia, the young man's aunt, whom he desired to go to the house of his mother-in-law Sulpicia, a lady of great distinction. Upon the first questions which he made her, she wept, complaining of her nephew's misfortune, who, deprived of his estate even by those that ought to have protected him, was then at her house, having been turned out of his mother's, for only having too much innocence and modesty to consent to partake in mysteries that were said to be full of horrors and obscenities.

He then sent for Hispala, who was more capable than any one of giving him an exact account of all these dark mysteries. As soon as she saw the Consul, she swooned, and did not recover from her fright without great difficulty. Postumius having encouraged her, took her into the most private part of the house, and there, in the presence of Sulpicia he told her, "that she had nothing to fear, if she could resolve to tell the truth: that himself, or Sulpicia, if she thought best, would give her their promise and full assurance of this. That she must therefore inform him without any disguise of all that usually passed in the nocturnal sacrifices of the Bacchanalians in the grove Stimula." (This was probably the name of a Goddess invoked in these ceremonies.) On these words Hispala was seized with such terror and a trembling of every limb, that she continued a great while without being able to open her mouth. When she had recovered herself, she declared, that whilst she was a slave and very young, she had accompanied her mistress to these sacrifices: but that during several

ral years since she had been free, she had known nothing of what passed in them. As she persisted in denying that she knew any thing farther, the Consul assuming the tone of supreme magistrate, declared to her, " that as he was perfectly informed in every thing, he did not want her evidence ; but that he well knew how to punish her criminal silence and impudent lies as they deserved." Terrified by these menaces, and at the same time a little encouraged by the kind expressions of Sulpicia, she began by declaring that she was afraid of the Gods, whose hidden mysteries she was going to reveal, but still more of men, who, when they should know what she had said against them, would tear her to pieces. The Consul having promised her entire protection, she discovered every thing to him, tracing things from their origin. She told him, " that at first these mysteries had been celebrated by women, no man being admitted to them. That three days in the year were set apart for the initiation of those who offered themselves to be admitted into this society. That the women succeeded each other as priestesses, each in their turn. But that Paculla Minia of Capua having been raised to that dignity, had introduced changes and innovations in these ceremonies, with which she said she had been inspired by the Gods. That it was she who had admitted the first men to be present in them, namely, her two sons Minius and Herennius. That she had caused these sacrifices to be celebrated in the night, and not in the day ; and that instead of three days set apart every year for the initiations, she had instituted five every month. That since men had been admitted into them, and the darkness of the night had admitted a licentiousness which day-light had banished before, there were no kind of crimes, vices, and abominations, to which they had not abandoned themselves without scruple. That those who refused to share in them were inhumanly massacred, as victims to appease the wrath of the Gods." After having related other less criminal ceremonies, she added,

" That

A.R. 566. "That the number of the initiated was already so
 Ant. C. great, that it composed a second People at Rome, of
 186. which many illustrious persons of both sexes were
 part."

She concluded with prostrating herself at the Consul's feet, and imploring him out of pity to transport her far from Italy into some place, where she might be safe from the revenge of those whose vile actions she had discovered. Postumius assured her that she had nothing to fear, and that he would provide for her security without making her quit Rome. In the mean time, Sulpicia lodged her in a separate apartment at the top of her house. As for Æbutius, he was ordered to stay in the house of one of the Consul's clients. Postumius having taken this care of the two informers, acquainted the Senate with all he had learnt.

When he had made his report, the Senators were seized with a double terror. They apprehended the consequences of so pernicious a conspiracy for the Commonwealth, and each of them was particularly afraid, lest some of their own family or friends might be engaged in it. It was decreed that the Consul should be thanked for the pains he had taken in discovering the whole without noise or tumult. By the same decree the Senate appointed him and his colleague to enquire in an extraordinary manner concerning the ministers of these nocturnal ceremonies, and their accomplices and adherents, taking great care to protect Æbutius and Hispala from their cruelty, and promising rewards to whomsoever should assist them in discovering this mystery of iniquity. They also decreed that the priests and priestesses, who presided in these sacrifices, should be seized not only at Rome, but in all the other adjacent towns and cities, and that they should be at the discretion of the Consuls: that it should be prohibited at Rome by an edict, which should be also sent throughout all Italy, for all such as had been initiated amongst the Bacchanalians, to assemble upon the occasion of these sacrifices, or any ceremony relating to them. The decree expressly
 men-

mentioned that all such should be punished who had conspired against the lives or honour of any person whatsoever.

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Ant. C.
186.

The Consuls commanded the curule Ædiles to find out all the priests of these sacrifices, to seize them, and to keep them confined, in order to their being interrogated from time to time, and the Ædiles of the People to take care that no sacrifices should be performed in secret. The Triumviri Capitales (officers of justice employed in criminal affairs) were ordered to plant sentinels in the different quarters of the city, and to prevent nocturnal assemblies. And in order to prevent fires, commission was given to ten other of the civil officers, some on one side, and five on the other of the Tiber, to take care in concert with the Triumviri, and under their orders, for the preservation of buildings, each in their respective quarters.

As soon as the dispositions were made, the Consuls called an assembly of the People. Postumius spoke, and began with the solemn prayer which the magistrates repeated previously to haranguing the People. This custom is remarkable, and shews that the Romans implored the aid of the Divinity on all important occasions. The Consul added, "That this prayer was never more necessary than in the affair upon which he was to speak to them, which equally concerned the worship of the Gods, and the safety of the Commonwealth. That a new religion under the name of the Bacchanalians had been established not only in the provinces, but Rome itself, during some years; and that it consisted of nocturnal assemblies of men and women, in which all kinds of the most execrable crimes were committed. That every kind of libertinism, fraud, villany, and impiety, that had been acted during some years, had come out of that infamous society. That the number of the persons initiated into that impious sect encreased daily, and might become formidable to the State itself, if the progress of it were not stopt. That many had been drawn into the error through weakness and ignorance, because nothing is
more

A. R. 566. more capable of seducing than a criminal superstition
 Aut. C. covered with the venerable garb of religion. That it
 186. was not unlikely, but that some of their kindred or friends might through libertinisin have engaged in this infamous society: but, in that case, that they ought to own them no more for friends and relations. That they ought not to be alarmed by any scruples upon this occasion, nor fear of acting contrary to religion in approving and seconding the severity of the Senate and Consuls against execrable crimes, the horror of which the guilty endeavoured to hide under the veil of piety to the Gods. That the Gods themselves, not being able to suffer such crimes and sacrileges to be committed in their names, had brought these enormities out of darkness to expose them in full light, not with design that they should remain unpunished, but that they might avenge, by the exemplary punishment of the guilty, their violated majesty. That whilst the magistrates were intent upon reforming this evil by their cares and vigilance, they, on their side, ought punctually to perform the orders that should be particularly given for the same end."

The Consuls afterwards caused the decree of the Senate to be read, and proposed a reward to whoever should bring before them, or inform them of any of their accomplices. At the same time they "declared, that if any of those informed against should fly, a certain fixed time should be set for their appearance, after which they should be condemned for contumacy. That if any out of Italy should be accused, a longer term should be granted them for appearing, and making their defence. They farther prohibited by an edict all persons, of whatsoever condition they might be, from selling or buying any thing with design to favour the flight of the accused; or to take them into their houses, keep them concealed, or assist them in any manner whatsoever."

As soon as the assembly of the People was dismissed, the whole city was in a consternation, which soon extended to the territory of Rome, and from thence

thence throughout all Italy, in proportion as the citizens wrote to their friends and acquaintance to inform them of the decree of the Senate, the discourse of the Consuls to the People, and the edict which they had caused to be published. The night after the assembly of the People, some of the criminals going to the gates of the city in order to escape, were stopt by those who were appointed to guard them, and put into the hands of the Triumviri. A great number who had already got out, were brought back. Abundance both of men and women, were informed against, amongst whom were some who prevented punishment by a voluntary death. The number of the initiated of both sexes amounted to above seven thousand. Four in particular, two of whom were of the city of Rome, and the other two of the neighbouring cities, were considered as the heads of this impious cabal, the high-priests, and founders of these sacrifices, in a word, the authors of all the crimes and disorders committed in them. Such right measures were taken, that they were soon seized. As soon as they appeared before the Consuls, they confessed their crime, and did not delay their sentence in the least.

As many of those who had been informed against, were not at Rome to appear and make their defence before the Consuls, those magistrates, in order to terminate this affair as soon as possible, removed into the neighbouring cities, to carry on the prosecutions, and to pass sentence. Those who were not convicted of having been initiated, and of having pronounced the form of the oath dictated by the Prætor, but not committed any of the excesses to which they had obliged themselves by their oath, were kept prisoners. But the corrupters, murderers, false-witnesses, forgers, those who had counterfeited wills, or offered any other forged writings in evidence, were punished with death. The majority were found to deserve death. The women, whom the Consuls condemned, were put into the hands of their kindred or guardians, in order to their execution. If there was no body to whom

A. R. 566.
Ant. C.
186.

A. R. 566. whom they might be delivered to be punished, they
 Ant. C. were publickly put to death.
 186.

The Senate afterwards passed a * decree for destroying and entirely demolishing first at Rome, and next throughout all Italy, the abominable places where the Bacchanalians were celebrated. That, if any one thought it their duty to do such acts of religion, and that he could not be dispensed from performing it without guilt, he should deliver in his declaration to the Prætor of the city, who should make his report of it to the Senate. That, if the Senate consisting of at least an hundred fathers permitted it to be done, he might offer his sacrifice, on condition, however, that not above five persons at most should be present at it, that there should be no common purse, and that no one should take upon him the quality of priest or master of the sacrifices.

It was thought proper to send Minius Cerrinus the Campanian, one of the four principal heads of this society, to the prison of Ardea, with orders to the magistrates carefully to guard him, not only to prevent all means of his escape, but even of killing himself.

Postumius being returned to Rome, after having finished his prosecutions, and proposed to the Senate that a reward should be given to P. Æbutius and Hispala, it was decreed that the Quæstors of the city should pay each of them an hundred thousand asses (about two hundred and fifty pounds.) Singular privileges were granted to both. Amongst other things, Hispala, who was a freed-woman, was permitted to marry a free husband, without imputation of infamy to the man who married her. The Consuls and Prætors for the time being were directed to protect her, and to secure her against all kinds of insult. All these regulations, and others expressed in the decree of the Senate, were confirmed by a Resolution of the

* This decree is come down to us, and the learned have published it and commented upon it, as found upon a plate of brass, that has endured so many ages.

People. The Consuls also had orders to reward the informers as they should think proper. A. R. 566.
Ant. C.
186.

The event which we have just related, shews of what excesses man is capable, when left to himself and the depravity of his corrupt nature. To engage by oath, that is by what is most sacred in religion, to commit the most abominable of crimes: what blindness! what horror!

The two Consuls had Liguria for their province. The affair of the Bacchanalians being terminated, they prepared for their departure. Marcius set out first, and arrived amongst the Ligurians called Apuani. Whilst he was pursuing them in their forests, their usual refuge against the Roman armies, he fell into ambuscades which they had laid for him, and lost four thousand men, many ensigns, and a great quantity of arms. Liv.
xxxix.
20.

Almost at the same time news came to Rome, that C. Atinius, who had gone to Spain two years before as Prætor, had gained a considerable advantage there. Having given the Lusitanians battle in the territory of Asta, he had killed them six thousand men, put the rest to flight, and taken their camp. He marched immediately after to besiege the city of Asta with the victorious legions, and took it with as much ease, as he had done the camp of the enemy. But having approached the walls with a little too much imprudence, (which is a great fault in a General) he received a wound of which he died some days after. Liv. ibid.
21.

On this side of the Iberus in Spain the Celtiberians gave Manlius Acidinus battle, near Calaguris. The Romans killed them twelve thousand men upon the spot, took two thousand prisoners, and made themselves masters of their camp. If the ardor of the victors had not been stopt by the arrival of his successor, the Celtiberians would have been entirely subjected. This change of Generals was a considerable inconvenience in the form of the Roman government, but had however its great advantages.

A. R. 566. M. Fulvius, to discharge a vow, which he had made
 Ant. C. 186. in the war of Ætolia, exhibited games at Rome, in
 Liv. which were combats of Athletæ, and hunting of lions
 xxxix. 22. and panthers for the first time.

A. R. 567. AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
 Ant. C. 185. M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Liv. The war which the Romans had some time after
 xxxix. 23. with Perseus and the Macedonians, had, according to
 Livy, another cause than that commonly assigned by
 the Roman historians before him. And the design of
 it was not conceived by Perseus, but his father Philip,
 who would have begun it himself, if death had not pre-
 vented him.

Of all the laws imposed upon that Prince as con-
 quered, that which gave him most pain, was the Se-
 nate's having deprived him of the right to punish such
 of the Macedonians as had quitted his party during
 the war, though Quintius, in referring the decision of
 this point to another time, had given him room to
 hope that he should have satisfaction in it. He had
 also other subjects of complaint, as the following. Af-
 ter the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ, the Con-
 sul Acilius and Philip had separated, to go at the
 same time, the one to besiege Heraclea, and the other
 Lamia. Now Acilius, after having reduced Hera-
 clea, had forbid Philip to continue the siege of La-
 mia, which afterwards surrendered to the Romans.
 The Consul indeed, to console and mollify him, suf-
 fered him to gain some advantages. But a King does
 not easily digest and forget such haughty and rigorous
 treatment, which seemed to reduce him into a kind of
 slavery.

These reserves of the Consul seemed to have some-
 what appeased the indignation which Philip had con-
 ceived against the Roman haughtiness: but he inces-
 santly made preparations to set new forces on foot, in
 order to be in a condition to renew the war, as soon
 as a favourable occasion should offer. He not only
 in-

increased the taxes that subsisted upon the estates of the country, and the merchandize imported into the maritime cities, but he reinstated the old mines that had been abandoned, and caused others newly discovered to be worked. And, in order to repeople his dominions, the greatest part of the inhabitants of which had been carried off by the calamities of war, he did not confine himself to the measures he had already taken, in obliging his subjects to marry and propagate children : he also settled a great multitude of Thracians in Macedonia, and during the whole time that he had no enemies upon his hands, he spared no pains to augment the riches and strength of his kingdom.

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Ant. C.
185.

The Romans soon gave him new matter of discontent. For the Thessalians, Perrhæbians, and King Eumenes, having brought their complaints to Rome, the first by themselves, and Eumenes by his Ambassadors ; the Senate heard both so as to give the complainants cause to judge they were inclined to espouse their cause. Other States also made their representations. Philip did not omit to send his Ambassadors to Rome to vindicate himself ; affirming, that he had acted nothing but in concert with the Generals of the Commonwealth, and with their permission. The Senate not believing it proper to decide any thing in the King's absence, sent three commissioners to terminate these differences upon the spot.

When they arrived at Tempe in Thessaly, an assembly was called, in which appeared on the one side the Ambassadors of the Thessalians, Perrhæbians, Athamantes, and on the other King Philip in person ; a very mortifying step in itself for so powerful a Prince as him. The Ambassadors expressed their subjects of complaints against Philip more or less strongly, each according to his character and genius. " Some * con-

* Petentes ut ignosceret pro libertate loquentibus : & ut, deposita domini acerbitate, assuesceret socium atque amicum sese præstare : & imitaretur populum Romanum, qui caritate, quam metu, adjungere sibi socios mallet. Liv.

A. R. 567.
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185.

jurings the King of Macedonia not to take offence at complaints which proceeded solely from the love mankind naturally have for liberty, implored him to quit the insupportable rigor of absolute lord and master, and to assume in respect to them the good-will and favour of friend and ally, and to imitate in that the Roman People, who chose rather to attach States to them by love than fear. Others, and especially the Thessalians, less moderate and reserved, reproached him to his face with injustice, violence, and usurpation. That he had thereby so much terrified all the Thessalians, that there was not a single man amongst them, that dared to open his mouth either in their cities, or in the general assembly of the nation, the Romans who could support them in liberty being remote; whereas they had upon their borders an imperious master, who would not permit them to enjoy the good intentions of the Roman People. And what was there of freedom in man, if debarred the liberty of speech? That in reality, if they presumed to groan rather than speak, they were indebted for it to the presence and protection of the Roman commissioners. That if the Romans did not find means to put an end to the subjection of the nations that bordered upon Macedonia, and check the insolence of Philip, they had conquered him, and restored the liberty of Greece in vain. * That, like a resty horse, that Prince could only be kept in by sharp and painful curbs." Philip, in order to appear rather the accuser than the accused, on his side made some complaints in respect to places that he said had been usurped from him. Then, after having answered in his way the reproaches and demands of these different States, he added, " That † the Thessalians passionately abandoning themselves

* Ut equum sternacem non parentem, frenis asperioribus castigandum esse.

† Insolenter & immodicè abuti Thessalos indulgentia populi Romani, velut ex diuturna siti nimis avidè meram haurientes libertatem. Ita, servorum modo præter spem repente manumissorum, licentiam vocis & linguæ experiri, & jactare sese in sectatione & conviciis dominorum. LIV.

to the sweetness of entire and unlimited liberty, for which they had long impatiently thirsted, insolently and excessively abused the goodness and indulgence of the Roman People. That therein they resembled slaves, who, in the first moments of a liberty obtained contrary to their expectation, began the use of it with the excess of licence, and made it a glory to treat their masters with reproaches and insult."

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Ant. C.
185.

The commissioners, after having heard the accusations and answers, the particulars of which I thought proper to omit, as little material to the reader, and made some particular regulations, deferred giving their judgment upon the respective demands of either side.

From thence they went to Theſſalonica, to examine what related to the cities of Thrace, and the King followed them highly discontented. The Ambassadors of Eumenes represented to the commissioners, "That if Rome was resolved to restore the liberty of the cities Ænea and Maronæa, the King was far from opposing it. But that if she did not concern herself in respect to those cities conquered from Antiochus, the services of Eumenes, and those of Attalus his father, seemed to claim that they should rather be given up to their own master than to Philip, who had no right to them, and had usurped them by open violence. That besides, Eumenes had the decree of the ten commissioners for him, who in granting him the Chersonesus and the city of Lyſimachia, had undoubtedly granted him Ænea and Maronæa, which by their very situation must be considered as appurtenances of so considerable a gift." The Maronites, who were heard next, complained bitterly of the injustices and violences which Philip's garrison exercised in their city.

Philip did not speak at this time in his usual tone, but personally addressing his discourse to the Romans, he declared, "he had long perceived, that they were determined to do him justice in nothing. He made a long enumeration both of the considerable injuries he pretended to have received, and of the

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Ant. C.
185.

vices he had rendered the Romans on different occasions; insisting much upon the inviolable attachment he had evidenced for them, so as to refuse three thousand talents, (about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds) fifty ships of war, and a great number of cities, which Antiochus had offered him to enter into an alliance with him. That, notwithstanding, he had the grief to see Eumenes preferred to him in every thing, with whom he thought it below him to compare himself; and that the Romans, far from adding any thing to his dominions, as he conceived he had well deserved, deprived him of cities which were either his own by right, or which themselves had given him. "It is your business, Romans," said he in concluding, "to resolve upon what terms I am to be with you. If you are determined to treat me as an enemy, and to drive me to extremities as such, you have only to go on as you have began. But if you still regard in me the quality of a King, your friend and ally, spare me, I conjure you, the shame of so unworthy a treatment, which I undoubtedly do not deserve."

This discourse of the King made some impression upon the commissioners. They therefore would not absolutely condemn him, but answered in such a manner as to leave him some hope. They declared: "That if the cities in question had been adjudged to Eumenes by the ten commissioners, as he pretended, they could change nothing in the decree. That if Philip had acquired them by right of conquest, it was just that they should continue his. That if neither the one nor the other was proved, the cognizance of the affair ought to be referred to the Senate, and in the mean time the garrisons to evacuate the cities; the right of the parties on both sides to continue in all its extent."

This regulation, which provisionally obliged Philip to withdraw his garrisons out of the cities, far from satisfying that Prince, left in his heart a discontent and resentment, which would inevitably have
broken

broken out in an open war, if a longer life had afforded him time. A. R. 567.
Ant. C.
185.

The two Prætors of Spain, who had united their troops, at first received a slight blow, but soon after gained a considerable victory near the Tagus. The enemy lost above thirty thousand men in it. Above an hundred and thirty ensigns were taken in it. The loss of the Romans was but inconsiderable. Liv.
xxxix. 30,
31.

The two Consuls had also good success in Liguria. Liv. ibid.
32.

There was a very warm dispute, concerning the Consulship for the ensuing year, especially between the Patricians, who to the number of four solicited the single place they could have, for one was reserved for the Plebeians. Of these four, three had already canvassed this office ineffectually: P. Claudius was the sole new candidate. The Consul Appius Claudius his brother, forgetting his dignity in his favour, ran about the Forum with him without being attended by his Lictors, and like a private person. His adversaries, and the greatest part of the Senate, represented to him, that he ought to have more regard to the character of Consul than to that of the brother of P. Claudius, and to remain upon his tribunal to be either the arbiter, or quiet spectator of the election of the Consuls. He however continued his solicitation with no less warmth, and at length succeeded in causing his brother to be elected Consul. L. Porcius Licinus, of the order of the Plebeians, was given him for colleague.

P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

A. R. 568.
Ant. C.
184.

L. PORCIUS LICINUS.

The commissioners, in quitting Macedonia, had repaired to Achaia, which they left highly dissatisfied with the Achæans, who had refused to call a general assembly to give them audience. At their return to Rome, they reported their commission to the Senate, and at the same time introduced the Ambassadors of Philip and Eumenes, and those of other States. They Liv.
xxxix. 33.

A. R. 563. only repeated on each side the same complaints and
 Ant. C. answers, which had been already made in Greece.
 184. The Senators decreed a new commission, at the head of which Appius Claudius was placed, to go into Macedonia and Greece to enquire whether the Thesfalians and Perrhæbians were put into possession of the cities from which Philip had engaged to withdraw his garrisons, and to make him evacuate Ænea and Maronæa, and in one word, to quit all the fortresses, territories, and cities which he possessed upon the maritime side of Thrace.

Liv. When Philip was informed by his Ambassadors,
 xxxix. 34. who were returned from Rome, that he must absolutely evacuate the cities of Thrace, exasperated to madness to see his realm hemmed in on all sides, he vented his rage upon the inhabitants of Maronæa. He ordered Onomastus, who commanded along the sea-coast, to cause all the heads of the faction against him to be put to death. That officer employed one Cassander of the King's party, long settled at Maronæa, to put that Prince's barbarous order in execution. He made a body of Thracians enter the place in the night, who put those to the sword whose deaths were desired, with the same inhumanity as if it had been in a town carried by storm. Philip, having thus taken his revenge of those who were not of his faction, quietly waited the arrival of the commissioners, convinced that none would presume to declare themselves his accusers.

The commissioners arrived soon after, and being informed of what had passed at Maronæa, warmly reproached Philip with this bloody execution, no less unjust to the innocent Maronæans, than an insult to the Roman People, whose protection had occasioned so cruel a death to those whose liberty the Senate had intended to establish. That Prince affirmed, that neither himself, nor any agents of his, had any share in this massacre; that it had been the effect of a commotion which had happened between his partisans and those of Eumenes. He went so far as to propose to
 the

the commissioners to interrogate the Maronæans. But who would have dared to accuse that Prince, after the late terrible example of his vengeance? "It is in vain," said Appius, the principal commissioner, "for you to excuse yourself. I know what hath passed, and who was the author of it." These words gave Philip great anxiety. They however urged the affair no farther on this first interview.

A. R. 568.
Ant. C.
184.

But the next day Appius commanded him to send Onomastus and Cassander immediately to Rome, in order to their being interrogated by the Senate upon the fact in question; adding, that it was his only means for justifying himself. On this order, Philip changed colour, wavered, and hesitated long before he replied. At last he said, that he would send Cassander, who was at Maronæa during the time of the affair: but he insisted upon keeping Onomastus with him, who, said he, cannot be in the least suspected, because at the time of this massacre he was very remote from that country. His true reason was his fear, that a man who had his confidence, and whom he had often employed on very delicate occasions, might discover many secrets to the Senate besides what related to the people of Maronæa. As to Cassander, as soon as the commissioners had quitted Macedonia, he made him embark: but he sent people with him, who poisoned him in Epirus. And such is often the reward of those who perpetrate the unjust and tyrannical will of bad Princes.

After the departure of the commissioners, who set out fully convinced, that Philip had ordered the massacre at Maronæa, and that he was upon the point of breaking with the Romans, the King of Macedonia saw all he had to fear. Reflecting alone and with his friends, that his hatred against the Romans, and the desire of avenging himself began to appear, he was much inclined to take arms against them immediately, and to make war openly upon them: but, as his preparations were not yet compleat, he conceived an expedient for gaining time. He resolved to send his

Liv.
xxxix. 34.

A. R. 568.
Ant. C.
184.

younger son Demetrius to Rome, who had long been an hostage in that city, and having acquired esteem there, seemed more proper than any other person, as well to cause his justification to be accepted, as to obtain favour for what it would not be easy to excuse. He therefore prepared every thing necessary for this embassy, and chose persons of confidence out of the principal lords of his court to accompany his son.

At the same time he promised the people of Byzantium to aid them against the Thracians, who incommoded them; not that he was much concerned about their defence, but because, in going to their aid, he should spread terror amongst the petty Sovereigns of Thrace in the neighbourhood of Propontis, and should prevent them from being an obstacle to the design he had formed of making war with the Romans. Accordingly, having conquered those petty Kings in a battle, and taken their leader, he disabled them from hurting him, and returned into Macedonia.

I omit the dispute, which arose between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians, of which the same commissioners, who had been sent by the Romans to Philip, took cognizance, because that affair has more relation to the history of the Greeks, than to that of the Romans. It is treated with sufficient extent in the Antient History.

S E C T. IV.

Very warm dispute concerning the Censorship. Cato is chosen Censor, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the Nobility. L. Valerius is his colleague. Cato nominates his colleague Prince of the Senate. He degrades L. Quintius Flaminius. Cato's efforts against luxury. Gauls who pass the Alps into Italy. They build a town, which the Romans oppose. Complaints against Philip brought to Rome. Demetrius his son, who is there, is sent back into Macedonia with the Ambassadors. Death of three illustrious Generals. Gauls driven out of Italy, where they are desirous to settle. New colonies. Different rumours upon the return of Demetrius into Macedonia. He gives his brother great disquiet, and his father much jealousy. Violent and cruel proceedings of Philip in respect to his subjects. Philip, upon the information of false witnesses suborned by Perseus, puts Demetrius to death. He himself dies of grief. Perseus succeeds him. Dispute between the Carthaginians and Masinissa. Successful expedition against the Ligurians. Considerable defeat of the Celtiberians. The tomb of Numa found in the earth. First gilt statue at Rome. The Ligurians ask peace. Hostages restored to the Carthaginians. The Ligurians called Apuani are transported into Samnium. The Celtiberians are defeated by Fulvius, in the very ambuscades they had laid for him. Fulvius, crowned with glory, returns to Rome. Expedition of the Consuls in Liguria. Complaints against Gentius King of Illyricum. Great number of poisoners condemned. Fulvius triumphs over the Celtiberians, and is elected Consul. First law called Annalis. Games celebrated by the Consul Fulvius. Reconciliation of the two Censors, who had long been declared enemies.

A. R. 568.
Ant. C.
184.

P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

L. PORCIUS LICINUS.

Liv.
xxxix. 40.

THIS year the election of Censors occasioned very warm and violent commotions: The Censorship was the supreme of honours, and, to use the expression, the crown of all the dignities to which the ambition of a Roman citizen could aspire. Besides the great powers annexed to it in respect to the different kinds of public affairs, it gave those invested with it a right to take cognizance of the lives and manners of individuals. For the Romans judged, that it was not consistent to leave every one at liberty to act as he should think fit, and to live according to the dictates of his own passions and desires; and that it did not suffice, that only the crimes, which directly infringed the laws of society should be punished, if vices and actions contrary to probity and honour were not liable to the public animadversion of magistrates, free and independent of the usual formalities of judiciary proceedings. This almost unlimited authority awed not only the common people, but the principal persons of the State, who, after the most glorious actions, were liable to be disgraced by the Censor with a note of infamy, if they had been deficient in point of probity and morals. It was in this view, that the Romans had instituted Censors to be in a manner the guardians, inspectors, and reformers of manners, to prevent persons from deviating from the paths of virtue, and from throwing themselves into the arms of voluptuousness and vice. We have explained in another place what the different functions of the Censors were.

A great number of competitors of the principal families of Rome, five Patricians, and four Plebeians, canvassed for the Censorship. But however illustrious both the one and the other were by birth, not one of them eclipsed the merit of M. Porcius Cato. He had such a greatness of soul and elevation of genius, that in whatever rank of birth fortune had placed him, says Livy, he would infallibly have raised himself to the greatest

greatest honours by his personal merit. He wanted none of the talents necessary for succeeding in either public or private affairs. He was equally capable of what either related to the city, or the country. We have seen citizens attain the great offices, some by eloquence, some by their knowledge of the law, and others by their military abilities. * As to him, he had so happy, convertible, and universal a genius, that to whatever he applied it, it might be said that he was born only for that. He was personally brave, and few officers had signalized themselves more by particular actions of valour; and after his having attained the great employments, he had been considered as one of the greatest and most able of Generals. During peace, if he was consulted upon matters of law, he was a very learned counsellor; if a cause were to be pleaded, a very eloquent orator. He was not of the number of those who acquire esteem during their lives by the talent of speaking, without leaving behind them any monument of their eloquence. His, after having shone out during his life in act, was after his death consigned to posterity by writings of all kinds, which were much admired. He composed many orations either for himself or his friends, or against his adversaries. His † enemies, who were very numerous, gave him no little employment, and on his side he gave them no less. In the war which perpetually subsisted between him and the Patricians, it cannot be said whether they gave him most trouble, or he made them suffer most. It must be confessed, that he was of an austere, and even cruel, character, and that he carried his invectives to an excess of liberty and grossness.

* Huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum dueres, quodcumque ageret.

† Simultates nimio plures & exercuerunt eum, & ipse exercuit eas. Nec facile dixeris, utrum magis presserit eum nobilitas, an ille agita-
verit nobilitatem. Asperi proculdubio animi, & linguæ acerbæ & immodicè liberæ fuit: sed inveni à cupiditatibus animi, & rigidæ innocentiae; contemptor gratiæ, divitiarum: in parsimonia, in patientia laboris periculique, ferrei propè corporis animique: quem ne senectus quidem, quæ solvit omnia, fregerit. LIV.

But

A. R. 568. But, to make amends, he was to all the passions that
 Ant. C. sway mankind, of a strict and undeviating rigor of
 184. manners; equally despising both favour and riches; an enemy to all superfluous expence; so intrepid in dangers, and so indefatigable in labours, that it might almost be said, that his body and courage were of steel, the vigour of which time, that subdues all things, could never change or depress. For at fourscore and six years old having been cited before the People, he pleaded his own cause, and left it in writing; and at the age of fourscore and ten, he accused Servius Galba at the same tribunal.

When Cato offered himself as a Candidate for the Censorship, the Patricians, who had declared against him on all the occasions of his life, did not fail to unite then to prevent his election. They considered it as a disgrace for the Nobility to suffer persons of obscure birth, and, as they called them, New Men, to be raised to the highest degree of honour, and the supreme of dignities. Independently of this jealousy, which was become in a manner natural to them, all Cato's competitors, who stood for this office at the same time, used their utmost endeavours to exclude him from it, in order to obtain it for themselves. L. Flaccus, who had been Consul with him, and who was far from opposing him, must be excepted from this number; for it was he, as we have observed elsewhere, who had made Cato known to the People, and opened his way to the great offices. And lastly, and those not the least to fear, many who had made it their business to offend Cato on all occasions, and who knew him to be a man that did not forget injuries; and others who lived in splendor and magnificence, and were many of them conscious of an irregular life and corrupt manners: all these people dreaded the austerity of a Censor, who in all times had declared against all pomp and luxury, the irreconcilable enemy of the criminal, and inflexible in every thing relating to the duties of his office.

In the midst of such violent intrigues, Cato, far from having recourse to flattery, or mean submissions, as was too much the custom of candidates, appeared in the public place with an almost menacing air, and reproached his enemies, “ that they only opposed him because they apprehended a free, firm and determinate Censor. At the same time he represented to the citizens, that the evils of the Commonwealth augmenting perpetually, and threatening it with approaching ruin, they ought not to flatter themselves that it was possible to cure them with gentle remedies, and that it would be a wise part in them to chuse, for so important an operation, not the gentlest and most tender physicians, but the most resolute and vigorous. And he did not hesitate to say, that the physicians of that character, such as were necessary, were himself and Valerius Flaccus: that they were the only ones who could be expected to reform the new abuses, to cut away to the very root the luxury and effeminacy which had already infected all branches of the State, and to re-instate the austerity of the antient discipline.”

A. R. 568.
Ant. C.
184.

Rome must have had a very great idea of Cato's merit, himself extraordinary credit with every body, and the Roman People themselves a great fund of wisdom, to make the choice they did. Notwithstanding the cabal of the Nobility and Grandees, they not only unanimously elected Cato Censor, but gave him L. Valerius, whom he had desired, and almost commanded, for his colleague. Virtue, though frequently enough despised, sometimes opens itself a way through the greatest obstacles.

The commencement of their exercising the Censorship gave great expectation, not without being dreaded by many. The first thing that Cato did, was to nominate his friend and colleague, L. Valerius Flaccus, Prince of the Senate. They deprived several Senators of their dignity, one of which was no less illustrious by his birth, than the honourable offices he had born: this was L. Quintius Flaminius, a person of Consular dignity, and brother of him that had conquered Philip.

Liv.
xxxix. 42.

On

A. R. 568. On the latter's request, Cato gave his reason for acting
 Ant. C. as he had done. It was very solid. This Quintius,
 184. whilst he commanded in Gaul in quality of Consul, to please a courtesan, who had expressed a great desire to see a man put to death, caused a criminal to be brought from prison, and to have his head cut off in the presence of that harlot, whilst they were at table. The circumstances of this action are differently related; but are the same at bottom. The accused denied the fact. Cato offered him his oath: but he would not venture to go further; such weight had the religion of oaths with the antients!

Liv. His conduct in respect to Scipio Asiaticus did not
 xxxix. 44. do him so much honour. On reviewing the Roman Knights, he took from him the horse kept for him by the Commonwealth; that is, he degraded him from the rank of Knight. This rigor was not approved, and seemed to proceed from the same source as his envy and ill-will to Scipio Africanus.

Liv. *ibid.* Cato's great design, which was highly worthy of him had it been possible for him to succeed in it, was entirely to extirpate luxury, which he considered as a cause that would one day inevitably ruin the Commonwealth. He could not attack it directly and with open force: it began to grow universal, and had already infected all orders of the State. His only resource was to give it indirect blows, and to endeavour to subvert it by gradually undermining it. One of the principal functions of the Censors was to take of all the citizens accounts of their income, in order to tax them in proportion to it. They had authority to settle the value of each person's estate as they should think fit. The citizens took an oath before they gave in their estimate; and it is observed, that none had given in false ones. This was an highly admirable fidelity, especially in the point in question, in which people usually believe it no crime to falsify, provided it can be done with impunity.

Before Cato's time, the moveables, equipage, clothes, and women's toilets, were not included in the estimate
 of

of the effects which the citizens were obliged to deliver to the Censors. These are, however, things wherein luxury hath a great scope for displaying itself. Cato took them in, in the manner we are going to relate. If the effects we have just mentioned cost above fifteen thousand asses, or, as Plutarch expresses it, above fifteen hundred drachmas, that is, about thirty-seven pounds ten shillings, these effects were included in the estimate. After they were caused to be valued at ten times as much as they had cost, and three pieces were laid on them as a tax for every thousand of such valuation: so that a thing, for example, of the value of sixteen thousand Asses, or fourscore pounds, he caused to be estimated at an hundred and sixty thousand Asses, or four hundred pounds, and laid about four and twenty shillings by way of duty. Thus a tax of about four and twenty shillings was laid upon a thing which had not cost, and was not actually worth, above fourscore pounds.

Slaves, before Cato, were included in the estimates of estates; and actually sometimes made a great part of them: but only those of above twenty years of age were set down. Cato caused those under that age to be also included, who since the last Census had been bought at the rate of ten thousand Asses or upwards: because these were more frequently sought after than others. They were valued at ten times as much as they had cost, and consequently at an hundred thousand Asses for ten thousand; and three for every thousand were laid upon them, as upon the effects mentioned above.

I do not know whether these new impositions were an effectual remedy against luxury; because, in order to that, it would be necessary to know how high these expences rose, which might be carried to excess. But it seems to me, that Cato's principle was excellent in itself, and that if every thing which ministers to luxury had great taxes laid upon it, this would perhaps be a means, if not of destroying, at least of considerably weakening and diminishing it. Would it not be

A. R. 568.
Ant. C.
184. rendering an whole nation great service, and especially the French Nobility so worthy of esteem and consideration for their courage, and still more for their zeal and devotion for their Prince, to abolish these idle and foolish expences in armies, of which every body knows the inconvenience and pernicious consequences?

These reformatiions introduced by Cato, and some others which I omit, occasioned great exclaiming against him. But, as he acted solely from the view of the public good, he disregarded all these clamours, and continued firm and inflexible in the resolution he had taken. It appears that the People, notwithstanding all the opposition of the Great and Rich, generally applauded the manner in which Cato acquitted himself of his Censorship. For they erected a statue to him in the temple of Health, and placed at the bottom of it as an inscription, not his battles, victories, and triumph, but what follows: "To the honour of Cato, who having found the Roman Commonwealth in a state of declension in respect to manners, re-established and reformed it during his Censorship by sacred decrees, wise institutions, and salutary instructions."

The People, hitherto, had not done him the like honour. And when many expressed their wonder to him, that abundance of persons without merit or name had statues, and that he had none: "I am better pleased," said he, "that it should be asked why no statue is erected to Cato, than why there is."

The two Censors also applied themselves to different works for the convenience of the public. They caused several watering-places to be paved with stone, and the common sewers to be cleansed in the places which wanted that repair, and ordered new ones to be made in mount Aventine, and other parts of the city, where they were wanting. Cato, in particular, undertook to build a Basilica or court of justice at the expence of the public in the Forum, below the place where the Senate was held. The Nobility opposed him

him very much in this undertaking. The building was however compleated, and called after him Basilica Portia; a proof that Cato, according to the great principle of the Roman People, approved as much public magnificence, as he was an enemy to private pomp. *Odit Populus Romanus privatum luxurium, publicam magnificentiam diligit.*

A. R. 568.
Ant. C.
184.

Pro Mur.
76.

The Consuls of this year did nothing remarkable.

M. CLAUDIVS MARCELLVS.

Q. FABIVS LABEO.

A. R. 569.
Ant. C.
183.

The two new Consuls had Liguria for their province.

Some troops of the Gauls beyond the Alps, having entered Italy towards the end of the year 565, by defiles hitherto unknown, had advanced into the country of the Veneti, and without committing any ravages or hostilities there, had chosen not far from the place where Aquileia afterwards stood, a place proper for building. The Romans had sent Ambassadors over the Alps to demand the cause of this proceeding. They were answered, that this enterprize had not been set on foot either by the authority or consent of the nation, and that they did not know what those Rome complained of were going to do in Italy. They were actually employed in building their town. The Prætor had orders to prevent this enterprize, without employing the force of arms as long as he could avoid it. That if he was compelled to declare war, he should apprise the Consuls of it, it being the Senate's intention that one of them should march his legions against those Barbarians.

Liv.
xxxix. 22.

Liv. ibid.
45.

From the time the report had spread amongst the States bordering upon Macedonia, that those who went to Rome with complaints against Philip had been heard there, and that many had found their advantage in it; a great number of cities, and even private persons, went thither to relate their grievances against a Prince, whose neighbourhood cost them all very dear,

A. R. 569. in hopes either to be effectually redreſſed in reſpect to
 Añt. C. the injuries they declared, or at leaſt to have ſome
 183. conſolation from the liberty they ſhould have of de-
 ploring them. King Eumenes among the reſt, to
 whom, by decree of the Roman commiſſioners and
 Senate, the places in Thrace were to be ſurrendered,
 ſent Ambaſſadors, at the head of which was his bro-
 ther Athenæus, to inform the Senate that Philip did
 not withdraw his garrifons from Thrace, as he had
 promiſed to do, and to complain of his having ſent
 aid into Bithynia to Prufias, who was then at war with
 Eumenes.

Demetrius, the ſon of Philip, was then at Rome,
 whither, as we have ſaid, his father had actually ſent
 him to take care of his intereſts. He had a great
 number of points to answer alledged againſt his fa-
 ther, the particulars of which would be tedious, and
 the diſcuſſion much too prolix. The Senate ſeeing
 that the young Prince, who was little accuſtomed to
 ſpeak in public, was confounded, cauſed him to be
 asked, to ſpare him that pain, whether the King his
 father had not given him ſome memorandums, and
 contented themſelves with his reading them. Philip
 juſtified himſelf in the beſt manner poſſible in reſpect
 to moſt of the facts alledged againſt him: but he
 particularly expreſſed how much he was diſcontented
 with the decrees paſſed in reſpect to him by the com-
 miſſioners appointed by Rome, and with the manner
 in which he had been treated. The Senate eaſily con-
 ceived to what all this tended; and as the young
 Prince endeavoured to excuſe certain things, and de-
 clared in reſpect to others that every thing ſhould be
 done according to the dictates of Rome, the Senate
 answered, “ That Philip could not have acted a wiſer
 part, nor one more agreeable to the Senate, than
 ſending his ſon Demetrius to Rome to make his apo-
 logy. That as to the paſt, the Senate could over-
 look, forget, and endure many things: that for the
 time to come, they conſided in the promiſes made by
 Demetrius. That though he was upon the point of
 quitting

quitting Rome to return into Macedonia, he left his good disposition, heart, and attachment for Rome as hostages, all which he could retain inviolably, without departing from his duty to his father. That out of consideration for him, Ambassadors should be sent into Macedonia, to rectify without noise or debate what might hitherto have been done contrary to regulations. That for the rest, the Senate was well pleased, that Philip should know that he was accountable to his son Demetrius for the manner in which the Roman People acted in regard to him." After this audience the young Prince set out for Macedonia. These marks of consideration which the Senate gave him to raise his credit with his father, served only to excite envy against him, and in the sequel occasioned his destruction.

A. R. 569.
Ant. C.
183.

Livy, in relating the unfortunate end of the illustrious Philopœmen, which may be found in the Antient History, observes, that many authors, both Greek and Roman, have thought proper to apprise posterity, that this year had been famous for the deaths of the three greatest Captains of their time, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and P. Scipio Africanus; an observation, which does great honour to the General of a little Republic, ranked upon the level with the two most illustrious Generals of the two most powerful States of the world.

Liv.
xxxix.
50.

We have lost sight of Hannibal, since the shameful peace Antiochus concluded with the Romans, one condition of which was, that he should deliver up that great man. Hannibal did not give him time, and first retired to the isle of Crete, and then to Prusias King of Bithynia, to whom he did great service in the war that Prince soon after undertook against Eumenes King of Pergamus, the friend and ally of the Romans. The latter did not leave him long in repose, and caused complaints to be made to Prusias of his giving asylum to the declared enemy of the Romans. Prusias, to make his court to them, was

Liv. ibid.
51.
Cor. Nep.
in Annib.
9—11.
Justin.
xxxiii. 4.

A.R. 569. Ant. C. 183. not afraid to betray his guest. Hannibal having found all the passages seized through which he endeavoured to escape, caused the poison to be brought him, which he had kept a great while in order to use it on this occasion, and holding it in his hands, "Let us," said he, "deliver the Roman People from the apprehensions they have had so long, since they have not patience to wait the death of an old man. Their victory of this day over a man disarmed and betrayed, will not do them much honour with posterity." After having vented imprecations against Prusias, and invoked against him the Gods, protectors and avengers of the sacred rites of hospitality, he swallowed the poison, and died at the age of sixty-five years.

Not to interrupt the series of our history, I shall refer my reflexions upon the characters of Hannibal and Scipio to another place, though they should naturally come in here.

Liv. xxxix. 53. —55. We have related above, that Gauls had passed the Alps into Italy with design to settle there, and were actually employed in building themselves a city in the country of the Veneti. As soon as the Consul Marcellus appeared, those Barbarians surrendered themselves to him. They were twelve thousand in number, most of them with no other arms than what they had taken in the country. It was not without great difficulty that they could resolve to deliver them up, as well as the other effects they had taken in their way, or had brought with them. Accordingly they sent Ambassadors to Rome with their complaints. When they were introduced into the Senate by the Prætor C. Valerius, they represented, "that having been obliged to abandon Gaul their country, that was not capable of subsisting the too great multitude of inhabitants, they had passed the Alps in quest of some settlement elsewhere. That they had stopt in the first place they found uncultivated and uninhabited, where they had began to build themselves houses, which manifested that they neither came with design to hurt any

any body, nor to ufurp either cities or countries from other States. That this was their fituation, when Marcellus fummoned them to furrender, or to prepare for war. That as to them, preferring a certain peace, though little honourable, to the war with which they were menaced, they had at firft more really relied on the faith of the Roman People, than fubmitted to their power. That fome few days after they had been ordered to abandon their city and lands; and that at the time they meditated retiring without noife, and to go in queft of an abode into fome other country where they might be fuffered to ftay, all their arms and the other effects, which they could either carry off or drive before them, had been taken away. That they defired the Senate and People of Rome not to treat them, who had furrendered without committing any hoftility, with more rigour than enemies conquered by the force of arms."

A. R. 569.
Ant. C.
183.

The Senate replied, " That, though they were in the wrong to enter Italy, and to build a city in a country which did not belong to them, without the permiffion of the Roman magiftrates who commanded in the province, however, they did not approve of the rigor with which a People who had furrendered, had been ufed. That therefore they would fend Ambaffadors with them to the Conful, to order him to reftore all that had been taken from them, on condition that they would return into their country. That the fame Ambaffadors fhould pafs the Alps, to declare to the chiefs of the States who inhabit on the other fide, that they fhould keep their fubjects in their own country. That the mountains which feparated them were the bounds nature itfelf feemed to have placed with defign, and rendered almoft impracticable, in order to divide the two regions; and that thofe who fhould endeavour to pafs them for the future, fhould repent it."

The States who inhabited the other fide of the Alps, gave the Ambaffadors a very courteous and rational answer. " Their elders even complained of

A. R. 569.
Ant. C.
183. the too great lenity, with which the Roman People had treated a body of men, who having quitted their country without order of the nation, had undertaken to build a city in a foreign one, without permission from those to whom it belonged. That their temerity deserved to be punished severely, to make others not desirous of doing the same." After this discourse, they made the Romans presents, and attended them, out of honour, to the frontiers of their country.

Marcellus having thus driven the strangers out of the province, with the permission of the Senate went to Istria. All he did there was to found a colony of Latines at Aquileia. Two of Romans were also settled, the one at Modena (*Mutina*) and the other at Parma; and lastly, one of Romans also at Saturnia, in the territory called *Caletranus ager*.

A. R. 570.
Ant. C.
182.

CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS,
L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

Paulus Æmilius did not attain the Consulship, till after having suffered several repulses, which frequently happen to the most deserving persons. These repulses were probably an effect of his cool, grave, serious character, which did not know how to make submissions, and assume insinuating manners for caressing and soothing the People.

Liv.
xxxix. 53. We have observed before, that Demetrius the son of Philip was returned from Rome into Macedonia. That Prince's return had different effects there, according to the different disposition of people. Those, who were extremely apprehensive of the consequences of the rupture with the Romans, and of the war for which preparations were making, looked with a good eye upon Demetrius, in hopes he would prove a reconciler and author of peace. Besides which they considered him as the person who was to ascend the throne after his father's death. For, though he was the youngest brother, he had the advantage over Perseus of being indisputably legitimate; whereas Perseus, though owned

owned as such by Philip, passed either for the son of a concubine, or even as supposititious. Neither was it doubted but that the Romans would place Demetrius upon his father's throne, Perseus not having any credit with them. These were the common reports.

A. R. 570.
Ant. C.
182.

Accordingly Perseus on one side was highly anxious, lest the advantage of seniority should prove but a weak title for him, his brother having all other advantages; and on the other, Philip rightly judging, that he should not have it in his power to dispose of the throne according to his own will, looked with a jealous eye upon, and dreaded the too great credit of, his younger son. He also saw with pain a kind of second court formed, even during his life and before his eyes, by the affluence and numbers of the Macedonians who flocked to the house of Demetrius. It must be owned, that the young Prince himself was not sufficiently attentive to prevent or remedy the malignity of people. Instead of endeavouring to disarm envy by kind, modest, and polite behaviour; he only provoked and exasperated it by a certain air of haughtiness, which he had brought with him from Rome; piquing himself upon the marks of distinction he had received there, and openly declaring that the Senate had granted him many things, which it had before refused his father. We see here what vanity and blind complacency for one's own merit, whether true or false, produces. This is a failing common enough in young Lords and Princes, and which renders their best qualities useless, and often even pernicious.

Philip's discontent increased still more upon the arrival of the new Ambassadors, to whom Demetrius almost paid his court more regularly than to his father himself; especially when he saw himself obliged to abandon Thrace, to draw off his garrisons from it, and to undergo other mortifications conformably to the decrees of the first commissioners, or in effect of new orders arrived from Rome. He did not obey without repugnance, and inward rage; but however he obeyed, to avoid drawing a war upon his hands,

A. R. 570^o for which he was not yet sufficiently prepared. At
 Ant. C. the same time, to remove all suspicion that he had such
 182. thoughts, he carried his arms into the heart of Thrace
 against people for whose interests the Romans had no
 kind of concern.

Liv. xl. 3, But his real dispositions were not unknown at Rome,
 4. Marcius, one of the commissioners, who had signified
 the Senate's orders to Philip, wrote that all the dis-
 course and measures taken by the King indicated an
 approaching war. The better to assure himself of the
 maritime cities, he made all the inhabitants and their
 families quit them, transplanted them into the most
 northern part of Macedonia, and placed Thracians
 and other barbarous nations in them, upon whom he
 believed he could more rely. The whole country rung
 with complaints, groans, and curses against Philip.
 He only became more furious in the effect, and exer-
 cised unheard-of cruelties against his people. The
 reader may see a description of them in the Antient
 History, and particularly the deplorable fate of an
 whole illustrious family reduced to despair.

The horror of that tragical event excited new de-
 testation of Philip. He was publicly abhorred as a
 cruel tyrant, and horrid imprecations were every where
 vented against him and his children, * which soon had
 their effects, says Livy, the Gods giving him up to a
 blind fury, which carried him to the greatest extremes
 against his own blood.

Liv. xl. Perseus saw with infinite pain and grief, that the
 5. 15. regard for his brother Demetrius in Macedonia, and
 his credit with the Romans, increased every day. We
 have in the Antient History related the secret plot of
 that wicked Prince against Demetrius, to secure the
 throne to himself in prejudice of him : the accusation
 which was brought against him before Philip : the
 pleadings of both the brothers : the sentence of death
 passed by the King upon Demetrius in effect of the

* Quæ diræ brevi ab omnibus diis exauditæ, ut sæviret ipse in suum
 sanguinem, effecerunt. Liv.

depositions of witnesses suborned by Perseus, which he caused to be executed in private by giving him poison. A.R. 570.
Ant. C.
182.

Two years passed, without any thing of the plot formed by Perseus against his brother being discovered. Philip however felt the most excessive grief and remorse, incessantly lamented the death of his son, and reproached himself with his own cruelty. The surviving son, who considered himself already as King, and to whom the courtiers began to pay homage as to one who was soon to be their master, gave him no less anguish. He was highly enraged to see his age despised, some expecting his death with impatience, and others not so much as waiting till it arrived. The entire discovery of the plot formed against Demetrius, raised his grief to the highest excess. Tormented with the continual want of sleep, he imagined that he saw the ghost of his son Demetrius almost every night, which reproached him with his death, and uttered curses against him. He took measures to prevent Perseus from enjoying the fruits of his crime, as well as impunity. But he wanted time. He expired, lamenting one of his sons, and cursing the other, after having reigned forty-two years. Perseus ascended the throne.

I resume the thread of the history, from which I departed, in order to put what I had to say concerning Philip all together.

Nothing considerable passed during the 570th year of Rome, neither in Liguria, which was the province of the two Consuls, nor in either of the Spains.

The most remarkable event of this year was a judgment passed by the Roman commissioners between the Carthaginian People and King Masinissa. The question was concerning the possession of a territory of which Gala, Masinissa's father, had deprived the Carthaginians. Syphax had afterwards driven Gala out of it, and restored it to the Carthaginians in consideration of Asdrubal his father-in-law. And lastly, the current year, Masinissa had retaken it from the Carthaginians. Liv. ibid.
17.

A. R. 570. thaginians. The affair was debated by the two parties, before the commissioners of Rome sent to Africa, with no less heat than it had been before disputed sword in hand. "The Carthaginians thought they had a good right to reclaim a territory which had first belonged to their ancestors, and which Syphax had restored to them. This was a double title to them, on which they much insisted. Masinissa, on his side, affirmed, that he had retaken a district, which had been part of his father's dominions, and which belonged to him by right of succession, and even by that of conquest: that besides the goodness of his cause, he actually had it in possession." The deputies left it so without passing a final judgment, which they referred to the Senate.

A. R. 571.
Ant. C.
181.

P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Liv. xl.
25—28.

As soon as L. Æmilius Paulus, to whom, after his Consulship, the command in Liguria had been continued, saw the spring return, he made his army march into the country of the Ligurians Ingauni. The enemy seeing him incamped upon their lands, sent Ambassadors to him, in appearance to ask peace, but in reality to view his force, and the situation of his camp. Æmilius having refused to hearken to any accommodation, till they had previously surrendered, they seemed inclined to submit, but at the same time demanded time to make a nation enter into the same disposition, which, said they, is intractable and barbarous. The Consul gave them a truce for ten days, to which they desired him to add another favour: this was, not to send his soldiers to fetch wood and forage beyond the neighbouring mountains, because that was the only cultivated part of their country. As soon as they had obtained this point, they drew together all their troops behind those mountains from which they had had the address to remove the enemy. When they were in a condition to act, they came with

an infinite multitude of troops to attack the Proconsul's camp, who expected nothing less, and at the same time assaulted it at all the gates. They continued this assault the whole day with so much vigour, that they did not leave the Romans either the means for making their troops quit the camp, or the ground necessary for drawing up. All that the Romans could do, was to crowd about the gates, where they stopt the enemy, less by fighting, than by closing them with their bodies.

A. R. 571.
Ant. C.
181.

After sunset, when the enemy were retired, Æmilius sent two of the horse to Pisæ with letters to the Consul Cn. Bæbius, by which he desired him to come and extricate him out of a danger into which the enemy had brought him, by a fraudulent surprize under the pretext of a truce. Bæbius had unfortunately sent his troops elsewhere. All that he could do was to write to the Senate, to inform them of Æmilius's danger. The Ligurians returned to the charge the next day. The Proconsul might have removed before their return, and quitted his lines: but he believed it better to keep his soldiers within his intrenchments, and gain time, till troops might arrive from Pisæ to his assistance.

Bæbius's letter occasioned great consternation in the city, and the more, because it did not seem possible for any aid to arrive in time. However, the Consuls were made to set out. Æmilius not hearing any thing from Bæbius, believed that his horsemen had been seized, and resolved to rely only upon himself. The enemy's assaults were much less vigorous than the first days. They did not take arms, till after having filled themselves with meat and wine. On quitting their intrenchments, they dispersed without keeping their ranks, assuring themselves that the Romans would not venture to advance out of their camp to meet them. They came on in this manner, when the Romans, whom Æmilius had drawn up in battle, and had exhorted in the strongest terms to do their duty well, seconded by the cries of all those who remained
in

A. R. 571.
Ant. C.
181.

in the camp, soldiers, servants, sutlers, sallied through all their gates, and charged the Ligurians. The latter, as much terrified by this unexpected attack as if they had fallen into some ambuscade, were at first amazed; and having sustained the fury of the enemy for some time, they fled with some precipitation. Æmilius ordered his horse to pursue them, and to give no quarter to such as should fall in their way. This was not a flight, but a total defeat, and the slaughter was horrible. In their disorder they took refuge in their camp, which they soon surrendered to the victors. More than fifteen thousand men were killed that day, and about two thousand five hundred taken prisoners. Three days after the whole nation of the Ligurians Ingauni surrendered to the Proconsul, and gave him hostages. The Ligurians also practised piracy. C. Matienus at the same time took two-and-thirty ships from them.

Æmilius sent this news to Rome, and to demand permission to quit a province, where nothing farther remained for him to do, to march back his troops with him, and to dismiss them. He obtained all that he asked of the Senate, who besides, on his account, decreed feasts and thanksgivings for three days in all the temples.

Liv. xl.
31—33.

The Romans gained also a very considerable advantage in Hispania Citerior. Q. Fulvius, who commanded there in quality of Prætor, gave the Celtiberians battle, near the city of Eboræ. He acted in it with no less valour than good conduct. The enemies left three-and-twenty thousand upon the field of battle: and four thousand eight hundred were taken prisoners. Above five hundred horses were also taken, with fourscore and eighteen ensigns. This victory was followed with the taking of Contrebia and a new defeat of the enemy, who again lost twelve thousand men, four hundred horse, with sixty-two ensigns. The number of the prisoners amounted to above five thousand.

This

This year the tomb of Numa Pompilius with his books were found in digging up the ground. They have been spoken of elsewhere.

A. R. 571.
Ant. C.
181.
Liv. xl. 34.

Manius Acilius Glabrio, in dedicating the temple of Piety, caused the first gilt statue which had been seen in Italy to be erected in honour of his father Glabrio.

The Proconsul L. Æmilius Paulus triumphed over the Ligurians Ingauni. What contributed to render this triumph more famous, for neither gold nor silver were carried in it, was an embassy, which the Ligurians had sent to Rome, to demand peace for all futurity, and to assure the Senate that the Ligurians were fully determined never more to take arms, if not by the order and for the service of the Romans. The Prætor Q. Fabius answered them in the name of the Senate: "That this language of the Ligurians was not new; but that it concerned them most to think and act in a new manner, and conformably to their promises. That they should go to the Consuls, and punctually execute what they should be directed. That those magistrates were the only persons, to whom the Senate would refer themselves in respect to the sincerity of the intentions of the Ligurians."

Ibid. 34.

The Roman People this year restored an hundred of their hostages to the Carthaginians; and not only contented with leaving them in peace themselves, they procured it for them from Masinissa, who with his troops occupied the district in dispute between him and the Carthaginians.

A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS LUSCUS.

A. R. 572.
Ant. C.
180.

C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

The death of the latter of these two Consuls delayed the departure of the troops for some time. However, P. Cornelius and M. Bæbius, who had done nothing memorable in their Consulship, marched their army into the country of the Ligurians Apuani. Those people, who did not expect that they should be attacked before the arrival of the new Consuls, surren-

Liv. xl.
38-40.

A. R. 572.
Ant. C.
180. surrendered, to the number of twelve thousand. The two Proconsuls, after having wrote to the Senate for advice, resolved to remove them from the mountains into the plains, and to such a distance from their country, that they should lose all hopes of ever returning to it again. They were convinced that was the only means for terminating the war on that side. They therefore commanded the Ligurians Apuani to quit the mountains which they occupied, with their wives, children, and all their effects, in order to be transplanted into Samnium. The Ligurians first sent deputies to the Roman Generals, to conjure them not to compel them to abandon the country which had given them birth, their household Gods, and the tombs of their ancestors; offering for the rest to deliver up their arms, and to give hostages. But finding the Proconsuls inexorable, and knowing that they were not strong enough to sustain the war, they determined to obey. They were therefore made to remove at the expence of the Commonwealth to the place allotted them, to the number of forty thousand men, with their wives and children. A sufficiently considerable sum was given them to purchase the things they should have occasion for in their new settlement. The two Proconsuls were charged with the distribution of the new land, and of all relating to it. When the whole was terminated, they led back the army under their command to Rome, and obtained the honour of a triumph. They were the first Generals who triumphed without having made war.

Liv. xl. 39. The same year, the Celtiberians knowing, that the Proprætor Fulvius Flaccus was to pass through a certain defile, they laid ambuscades for him; and as soon as the Romans were in them, they charged them suddenly at the same time on two sides. Flaccus, having ordered the soldiers to halt, made them lay down their baggage in an heap, and without shewing any fear or perplexity, drew up his troops in battle, representing to the soldiers, "that they had to deal with an enemy, whom they had already twice forced to surrender."

That

That what they had now more than formerly, was not force or courage, but guilt and perfidy. That they should be obliged to them for a glorious and illustrious return into their country; whereas they were preparing to go home only with the fame of their past exploits. That on arriving at Rome they would carry thither their swords almost still smooching with blood newly shed, and adorn their triumph with spoils almost reeking with blood.”

He said no more. The enemies fell upon the Romans, and the fight, which was already begun at both extremities, soon extended throughout the whole army. They fought every where with equal animosity. But the Spaniards soon finding that they could not withstand the Roman legions by fighting in front, endeavoured to break them, by attacking them in a point or wedge. This was a kind of charge in which they had so much the advantage, that wherever they attacked, it was impossible to sustain them. In consequence they put the legions into some disorder, and had almost broke the main body. But Flaccus spurring on to the cavalry of the legions, said to them: “If you do not stop the enemy, our infantry will soon be routed. Double your ranks by uniting the horse of the two legions; and, in order to charge the enemy with more force, unbridle your horses, and ride on full speed.” This singular practice was common with the Romans. They immediately executed what was commanded, fell upon the Spaniards, broke all their lances, repulsed them a great way, and made a great slaughter of them. The cavalry of the allies, after the example of the Roman horse, also charged this half defeated body, and compleated their overthrow. As this body was the sole hope of the enemy, the defeat of it drew on that of the whole army. The slaughter was great. Seventeen thousand Celtiberians remained upon the place: more than three thousand were taken, with two hundred and seventy-seven ensigns, and almost eleven hundred horse. This victory cost Fulvius dear. He lost four hundred and seventy-

A. R. 572.
Ant. C.
180.

A. R. 572. seventy-two Roman citizens, a thousand and nineteen
 Ant. C. allies of the Latine name, and three thousand Spanish
 180. auxiliary troops. The Romans after this advantage,
 which was an high addition of glory to them, returned
 to Tarraco.

The Prætor Ti. Sempronius, who arrived there
 two days before, came to meet Fulvius, and congrat-
 ulated him on the great advantages he had gained
 over the enemies of the Commonwealth. Those two
 Generals easily agreed upon the troops which should
 be dismissed, and those which should remain in the
 province. After they had regulated every thing with
 perfect amity, Fulvius embarked the soldiers, who
 were dismissed, and Sempronius marched his troops
 into Celtiberia.

Liv. xl. 41. The two Consuls had Liguria for their province.
 They led their legions thither by different routes.
 Postumius with the first and third, seized the moun-
 tains of Balista and Suismont, and by shutting up the
 narrow passes, through which the enemy received
 their provisions, he starved them, and by the want of
 all necessaries to life, reduced them to the necessity of
 submitting. Fulvius, who had been substituted to
 Calpurnius with the second and fourth, having attacked
 the Apuani, who inhabited upon the banks of the ri-
 ver Macra, on the side of Pisæ, he reduced them to
 surrender; and having embarked to the number of se-
 ven thousand, he transported them to Naples along the
 coast of Tuscany. From thence he made them go to
 Samnium, and incorporated them with their country-
 men, giving them also some lands to cultivate. As to
 the Ligurians who inhabited the mountains, Postu-
 mus caused their vines to be pulled up, their corn to
 be burnt; and by dint of making them suffer all the
 calamities of war, he reduced them to surrender and to
 deliver up their arms.

Ibid. 42. This same year, L. Duronius, Prætor the year be-
 fore, who had been appointed to check the piracies
 committed by the Illyrians upon the coasts of Italy,
 returned to Rome. After having related in the Se-
 nate

nate what he had done in his province, he affirmed, "that King Gentius was the author of all the robberies committed upon the sea. That all the ships which had plundered the coasts of the sea called *Mare Superum* belonged to him. That he had sent Ambassadors to that Prince to complain of those hostilities, but that they could not gain admittance to him." On the other side, Gentius had sent to Rome, to represent to the Senate, "that exactly at the time the Roman Ambassadors came to his court, to make their remonstrances, he was at the extremity of his kingdom dangerously ill. That he had desired the Senate not to give credit to the false accusations, which his enemies had conceived to do him hurt." However, Duronius added to what he had said, that many Roman citizens and allies of the Latine name had been insulted and abused in his dominions; that it was even said, that he had many Roman citizens prisoners in Corcyra. The Senate decreed, that they should all be brought to Rome, and that the Prætor C. Claudius should take cognizance of this affair, before an answer should be returned to Gentius and his Ambassadors.

A. R. 572.
Ant. C.
180.

C. Mænius, Prætor of Sardinia, to whom commission had been given to inform against the poisoners in Italy, at the distance of ten miles from Rome, informed the Senate, that he had already condemned three thousand persons convicted of that crime: but that the number of the guilty increased in proportion to his enquiries.

Liv. xl. 43.

The People of Cumæ, who were Greeks by origin, were granted permission to use the Latin tongue in their public acts, and to cry the merchandizes to be sold by auction in the same language.

At the same time, Q. Fulvius Flaccus returned from Spain to Rome full of glory, and whilst he lodged out of Rome waiting the day of his triumph, he was created Consul with L. * Manlius Acidinus his

* This Manlius was the own brother of Fulvius, but had been adopted into the family of the Manlii.

A. R. 572. brother. This is the only example of two brothers
Ant. C. being colleagues in the Consulship, as Velleius Paterculus
180. II. 8. observes. Some few days after he triumphed
over the Celtiberians.

Liv. xl. 44. L. Villius Tribune of the People then passed the first
law which determined the necessary age for entering
into each magistracy : which occasioned Villius to be
surnamed Annales. We have already observed else-
where, that the age required for the Quæstorship was
twenty-seven ; for the Curule Ædileship thirty-seven ;
for the Prætorship forty ; for the Consulship forty-three.
The custom was usually the same before : this law
only confirmed and established it.

A. R. 573.
Ant. C.
179.

Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.

The Consul Fulvius, in his last battle with the Cel-
tiberians, had engaged by vow to celebrate games in
honour of Jupiter, and cause a temple to be built to
Equestrian Fortune. The games were celebrated du-
ring ten days with great magnificence.

Liv. xl. 45,
46, & 51,
52.

The assemblies were afterwards held for the election
of Censors. The People's choice fell upon M. Æmi-
lius Lepidus, who a little before had been raised to
the dignity of Pontifex Maximus, and upon M. Ful-
vius Nobilior, who had triumphed over the Ætolians.
There was a mutual enmity between them, which
had broke out in violent contests both in the Senate
and before the People. The new Censors at this time
being come, according to custom, to take their places
upon the Curule chairs in the field of Mars, near the
altar of that God, the most considerable of the Se-
nators followed them thither with a great multitude
of citizens, and Q. Cæcilius Metellus spoke to them
in these terms.

“ We well know, Censors, that the Roman Peo-
ple have just made you the arbiters and judges of
“ our conduct ; and that, in this capacity, it is we
“ who are to receive your opinions and remonstrances,
“ and

“ and not you ours. Permit us, however, to observe
 “ what gives offence in you to all persons of worth,
 “ or at least what they are desirous that you should
 “ amend. When we consider each of you separately,
 “ Æmilius, and you Fulvius, we do not know any
 “ persons in Rome that we would prefer to you, if
 “ we were to give our suffrages again. But when we
 “ see you both together, we cannot help apprehend-
 “ ing, that you are very ill joined, and having
 “ grudges at heart against each other, it is of no con-
 “ sequence that you have the esteem and affection of
 “ all the rest of the citizens. You have been at va-
 “ riance a great while, which cannot but sit heavy
 “ upon you. But it is much to be feared, that, from
 “ this day, it will become infinitely more so to us
 “ and the Commonwealth, than it is to you. We
 “ could repeat many reasons, which would justify our
 “ apprehension, if it were not doing you a kind of
 “ injury, to consider your dissension and hatred as ir-
 “ reconcileable. We all both in general and parti-
 “ cular conjure you this day to put an end to your
 “ enmity in this sacred and venerable place. After
 “ the Roman People have united you with each other
 “ by associating you in the same office, give us the
 “ joy of being able to flatter ourselves, that on our
 “ side we have also reunited you by a sincere and
 “ perfect reconciliation. You have the list of the
 “ Senators to settle, the review of the Knights to
 “ make, the number and census of the citizens to ad-
 “ just, and to close the lustrum. In these functions,
 “ and in almost all those of your charge, you use this
 “ form; MAY THE GODS GRANT, THAT THE AF-
 “ FAIR, WHICH WE ARE NOW EMPLOYED UPON, MAY
 “ TURN TO THE ADVANTAGE AND GLORY OF MY
 “ COLLEAGUE AND MYSELF. Act therefore in all
 “ things so unanimously, that the public may be
 “ convinced, that you observe these solemn vows in
 “ your hearts as well as mouths, and that you sin-
 “ cerely desire the accomplishment of the prayers
 “ which you are to address to the Gods. Romulus

A. R. 573.
 Ant. C.
 179.

A. R. 573.
Ant. C.
179.

“ and T. Tatius, after having fought sword in hand
“ in the midst of Rome, reigned afterwards in the
“ same city in peace and union. Not only private
“ dissensions, but wars themselves, are terminated by
“ pacific agreements; and we have often seen States,
“ from enemies that they were, become faithful allies,
“ and sometimes fellow-citizens of the same country.
“ The Albans, after the ruin of their city, removed
“ to Rome, and were incorporated with its inhabi-
“ tants. The Latines and Sabines have been associat-
“ ed with the Roman People. This maxim, FRIEND-
“ SHIPS OUGHT TO BE IMMORTAL, AND ENMITIES
“ MORTAL, became a proverb, only because its
“ truth made impression upon every mind.”

A murmur of applause interrupted the discourse of Metellus, and all that were present joined their request with his, and earnestly exhorted the Censors to consent to a reconciliation. After some complaints on both sides, each of them declared for his own part, that if his colleague would consent to it, that they would comply with the desire of so many illustrious citizens. Upon the repeated instances of all present, they tenderly embraced each other, and protested that they would entirely forget all that was past, and renounce all resentment. The joy was general, and rose even to shedding of tears. The assembly seemed incapable of sufficiently praising and admiring them, and followed them in a body to the Capitol, whither they repaired that moment. The Senate highly approved both the care, which the principal persons of the city had taken to reconcile the two Censors, and the facility of those magistrates in complying with their desires. It appeared from the manner in which they behaved during their whole administration, that their reconciliation was hearty and sincere. M. Æmilius Lepidus, one of the two Censors, was nominated Prince of the Senate by his colleague. They executed many public works and buildings, both very useful and very considerable.

Examples of this kind are of great importance in a State, and produce wonderful effects upon a people, even down to succeeding ages. It gives me joy to see Cicero, long after, cite the fact of which we have just been speaking in justification of his conduct in respect to Cæsar, with whom he believed it incumbent on him to renew the friendship they had long before contracted with each other, and had been often interrupted. “ If, says he, I sacrifice my resentment to the Commonwealth, who can take offence at me for it, especially as I pique myself upon directing my conduct by that of the great men of antiquity? Does not history tell us, that M. Lepidus, who was twice Consul and Great Pontiff, on the very day he was elected Censor, was reconciled in the field of Mars to M. Fulvius his colleague, who till then had been his declared enemy, in order unanimously to discharge the functions of an office common to them both? And does not the same history also inform us, as well as the verses of a great * poet, that this action was generally applauded by all orders of the State?—† You know, fathers, that I have always been actuated by an incredible zeal for the Commonwealth. It is the same zeal which this day reunites, reconciles, and reinstates me with C. Cæsar. Let what will be judged of it; but I cannot help being the friend of whoever renders the Commonwealth service.”

* Ennius evidently.

† Ardeo, mihi credite, Patres Conscripti—incredibili quodam amore patriæ.—Hic me meus in rempublicam animus pristinus ac perennis cum C. Cæsare reducit, reconciliat, restituit in gratiam. Quod volent denique homines existiment; nemini ego possum e. i. e. bene de republica merenti non amicus.

S E C T. V.

Characters of, and comparison between, Hannibal and Scipio Africanus.

HANNIBAL and Scipio have acted glorious parts in the Roman History, and both deserving to be studied attentively and thoroughly known, I thought it proper to give what I have said * elsewhere a place here, and to unite the great qualities common to both, and the differences between them in the same point of view. I imagine, in thus comparing their characters, that I in a manner again bring them into the field together: but I shall leave it to the reader to give the preference, and adjudge the victory to which of the two heroes he shall think most deserving. I however do not undertake to make an exact comparison between them, but only to trace the principal points of it. I shall examine in this parallel the military, moral, and civil virtues; which form the great Captain and Worthy Man.

S E C T. I.

MILITARY VIRTUES.

1. *Extent of capacity to form and execute great designs.*

I Begin by this quality, because, properly speaking, it is that, which forms great men, and has the greatest share in the success of affairs: this Polybius calls, *σὺν νῶ πρᾶττειν τὸ προτεθέν*. It consists in having great views; in forming plans at a distance; in proposing an end and design from which the author never departs; in taking all the measures, and preparing all the means, that are necessary for its success; in knowing how to seize the favourable moments of

* In the Belles Lettres.

occasion, which are rapid in their course, and never return; to make even sudden and unforeseen accidents subservient to a plan; in a word, to foresee and be upon the watch against every thing, without being perplexed or disconcerted by any event. For, as the same Polybius observes, the concurrence of all the most wisely concerted and executed measures is scarce sufficient to make a design succeed; whereas the omission of only one, how slight soever it may appear, often suffices to render it abortive. Page 552

Such was the character of Hannibal and Scipio. Both form a design great, bold, singular, of vast extent, long consequences, and capable of exercising the greatest heads, but the only one salutary and decisive.

Hannibal, from the beginning of the war, rightly conceived that the only means of conquering the Romans, was to attack them in their own country. He prepared every thing before-hand for this great design. He foresaw all the difficulties and obstacles. The passing of the Alps did not stop him. So wise a Captain, as Polybius observes, would not have undertaken it, if he had not been previously assured, that those mountains were not impracticable. The success answered his views. Every body knows the rapidity of his victories, and that Rome saw herself upon the very brink of destruction. Page 201,
202.

Scipio formed a design which scarce appeared less bold, but which was more successful: this was to attack Africa itself. What obstacles seemed to oppose this design! Was it not natural, one would say, to defend his own country, before attacking that of the enemy, and to secure peace in Italy, before carrying the war into Africa? What resource had the Commonwealth, if victorious Hannibal had marched against Rome? Would it then have been time enough to recal the Consul to its aid? What would become of Scipio and his army, if he had happened to lose a battle? and what was not to be feared from the Carthaginians and their allies in conjunction, and fighting

for their lives and liberties in the sight of their wives, children, and country? These were the reflections of Fabius, which seemed very plausible, but which did not stop Scipio; and the success of the enterprize sufficiently shewed with what wisdom it had been conceived, and with what ability it had been conducted; and it is obvious that in the actions of that great man, nothing was the effect of chance, but that every thing was the result of solid reason and consummate prudence, which indicates the General, whereas mere execution is only the soldier's part.

2. *Profound secrecy.*

Page 552. One of the most necessary means for making a design succeed is secrecy, and Polybius is for having a General so impenetrable in this point, that not only friendship, nor the most intimate familiarity should ever wrest from him a single indiscreet word, but that it even should not be possible for the most subtle curiosity to discover any thing either in his looks, or air, of what he has in his thoughts.

The siege of Carthagera was the first enterprize of Scipio in Spain, and in a manner the first step to all his other conquests. He communicated it only to Lælius, and confided in him, only because it was absolutely necessary. It could also be only in effect of silence, and the most profound secrecy, that another still more important enterprize succeeded, which drew on the conquest of Africa, when Scipio burnt the two camps, and cut to pieces the two armies of the enemy in the night.

Hannibal's frequent successes in laying ambuscades for the Romans, and in destroying so many Generals in them with their best troops; in stealing his marches, and surprizing them by unforeseen attacks; in moving from one part of Italy to the other, without meeting any obstacles from the enemy, are proofs of the profound secrecy, with which he concerted and executed all his designs. Artifice, illusion, and stratagem,

gem, were his peculiar talents; all which would have been ineffectual without impenetrable secrecy.

3. *Well to know the characters of the leaders against whom a General acts.*

Well to know the character of the Generals who command the enemy's army, and to know how to take advantage of their failings, is great ability, and an highly important part of military knowledge. For, says Polybius, it is the ignorance or neglect of commanders, that renders most enterprizes abortive. Hannibal was a perfect master of this science; and it may be said that his continual attention in studying the genius of the Roman Generals, was one of the principal causes of his gaining the battles of Trebia and Thrasymenus. He * knew as well what passed in the enemy's camp as in his own. When P. Æmilius and Varro were sent against him, he was soon informed of the different characters of those Generals and of their divisions: *dissimiles discordesque imperitare*; and he did not fail to take advantage of the hot and impetuous disposition of Varro, in laying a bait for his temerity, by some slight advantages which he let him gain, that were followed with the famous dreadful defeat at Cannæ.

What Scipio learnt of the little discipline which the Generals of the enemy caused to be observed in their camps, made him conceive the thought of setting fire to them in the night: an enterprize, of which the success acquired him the conquest of Africa. *Hæc relata Liv. xxx. Scipioni spem fecerant, castra hostium per occasionem incendi.*

4. *To keep up an exact discipline amongst the troops.*

Military discipline is in a manner, the soul of the army, which binds and unites all its parts together,

* Omnia ei hostium haud secus, quàm sua, notaerant. Liv. xxii. 41.
Nec quicquam eorum quæ apud hostes agebantur, eum fallebat.
Ibid. 23.

sets them in motion, or keeps them at rest, according to occasion, assigns and distributes to each its functions, and obliges them all to observe their duty.

Liv.
xxviii. 12.

It is agreed that our two Generals excelled in this part: but it must be allowed that in this kind of merit that of Hannibal must seem much superior to that of Scipio. And accordingly it has been always considered as the greatest address, the master-piece of military ability, that Hannibal, during a war of sixteen years in a foreign country so far from his own, with such various success, at the head of an army consisting, not of Carthaginian citizens, but of a confused mixture of many nations, who had nothing common to them, neither customs, nor language; whose habits, arms, ceremonies, sacrifices, and even Gods were different: that Hannibal, I say, so united them, that no sedition ever arose either between them or against him, though they were often in want of provisions, and their pay had been often delayed. In order to this, how solidly must the discipline have been established, and how inviolably observed amongst the troops!

5. *To live in a simple, modest, frugal, and laborious manner.*

It is a very bad taste, and argues little elevation of mind, and nobleness of soul, to make the greatness of an officer or General consist in the magnificence of equipages, moveables, dress or table. How have such frivolous things been capable of becoming military virtues? What do they suppose, except great riches; and are those riches always undoubtedly proofs of solid merit, and the fruits of virtue? It is the disgrace of reason and good sense; it is the degradation of so martial a people as ours to descend to the manners and customs of the Persians, by introducing the luxury of cities into camps and armies. Does not an officer, a commander, know better how to employ the time, attention, and expences necessarily bestowed upon all this superfluity: and does he not owe them to his country?

try? The Captains of the Antients thought and acted quite differently.

Livy gives Hannibal a praise, which we have already repeated, and at which I do not know but many of our officers should believe they ought to blush. "No labour, says he, could tire his body, or depress his mind. He bore cold and heat with equal indifference. It was necessity and occasion, not pleasure, that regulated his eating and drinking. He had no set hour for sleeping: he gave the time his affairs left him to repose, and did not court it by silence and the softness of his bed. He was often found lying upon the ground in a soldier's vest amongst the sentinels and guards of his army. He distinguished himself from his equals, not by the magnificence of his habit, but the goodness of his horses and arms."

Polybius, after having praised Scipio for the shining virtues the world admired in him, his liberality, magnificence, greatness of soul; adds, that those who knew him most intimately admired * no less the sober and frugal life that he led, which enabled him to bestow his whole application to the public affairs. He gave himself little trouble in adorning his person. His dress was manly and military, well suiting his stature, which was large and majestic. *Præterquam quòd suapte* Senec.
Ep. 86.
natura multa majestas inerat, adornabat promissa cæsaries habitusque corporis, non cultus munditiis, sed virilis verè ac militaris. What Seneca tells us of the simplicity of his baths, and of his country-house, gives us room to judge what he was in the camp, and at the head of his troops.

It is by leading such a sober and frugal kind of life, that Generals are capable of discharging that part of their duty, which Cambyfes recommends so much to his son Cyrus, as extremely proper for animating the troops, and to make them love their leaders; which Xenoph.
in Cyrop.
lib. 1. is to set the soldiers the example of labour, by sustaining with them, and even more than them, cold, heat,

* Ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡπύην καὶ σὴ διαύειά περὶ τὸ προτεθεὶς ἐντεταμένῳ. POLYB.
p. 577.

and fatigues: wherein, * says he, the difference will always be very great between the General and the soldier, because the latter finds only labour and toil in it; whereas the other, exposed as a sight to the eyes of the whole army, has honour and glory from it; motives which much lessen the weight of fatigue, and render it less painful.

Scipio, however, was no enemy to wise and moderate pleasure. † Livy in speaking of Philip's honourable reception of him, when he passed through his dominions with his brother against Antiochus, observes that Scipio was highly pleased with it; and that he admired in the King of Macedonia the wit, politeness and graces with which he knew how to season the entertainments he gave them; qualities, adds Livy, which the illustrious Roman, so great in all other respects, deemed estimable, provided they did not degenerate into pomp and luxury.

6. *Equally to know how to employ force and stratagem.*

What Polybius says is very true, that in matter of war, artifice and stratagem are of much more effect than open force and declared designs.

In this Hannibal excels. In all his actions, in all his enterprizes and battles, artifice and stratagem had always the greatest part. The manner in which he deceived the most wary and prudent of all Generals, by setting fire to straw upon the horns of two thousand oxen, to extricate himself out of a dangerous situation, would alone suffice to shew how expert Hannibal was in the science of stratagems. Nor was

Liv. xxii.
16, 17.

* Itaque semper Africanus (meaning the second of that name) Socraticum, Xenophontem in manibus habebat: cujus imprimis laudabat illud, quod diceret, eosdem labores non esse æquè graves imperatori & militi, quod ipse honos laborem leviorum faceret imperatorum, Cic. lib. 2. Tusc. Quæst. n. 62.

† Venientes regio apparatu accepit, & prosecutus est Rex. Multa in eo & dexteritas & humanitas visa, quæ commendabilia apud Africanum erant, virum, sicut ad cetera egregium, ita à comitate, quæ sine luxuria esset, non aversum. Liv. xxxvii. 7.

it less known by Scipio; and his burning the two Liv. xxx. camps of the enemy in Africa, is a proof of it. 3--6.

7. *Never to expose his person without necessity.*

Polybius lays down as a maxim essential and capital to a General, that he ought never to expose his person, when the action is not general and decisive, and that even then he ought to keep as far out of danger as possible. He enforces this maxim by the contrary example of Marcellus, whose rash bravery, which ill suited a Captain of his age and experience, cost him his life, and threatened the ruin of the Commonwealth. It is upon this occasion he observes, that Hannibal, whom none certainly can suspect of fear, or of too great a love of life, in all the battles which he fought, took particular care to post himself in safety. And he makes the same remark in respect to Scipio, who in the siege of Carthage was obliged to expose his person, and confront the danger, but he did so with prudence and circumspection. Pag. 603.

Plutarch in his comparison of Pelopidas and Marcellus, says, that the wounds or death of a General ought not to be merely accidental, but a means that contributes to success, and conduces to victory and the preservation of an army: ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυχοῦς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν νίκην; and he laments that the two great men of whom he speaks, sacrificed all their other virtues to their valour, in being so prodigal of their blood and lives without necessity, and died for themselves and not for their country, to which Generals are accountable for their deaths, as well as lives. Pag. 587.

8. *Art and ability in battles.*

It were necessary to be a soldier by profession to observe, in the different battles fought by Hannibal and Scipio, upon their ability, address, presence of mind, attention in taking advantage of all the motions of the enemy, of all the sudden occasions resulting from chance,

chance, of all the circumstances of time and place, in a word, of all that can contribute to victory. I easily conceive that military persons must take great pleasure in reading in good authors the narrations of the famous battles which decided the fate of the Universe, as well as the reputation of the Captains of the Antients; and that it is a great means for attaining perfection in the art military, to study under such masters, and to be thereby capable of improving as well from their defects as great qualities. But such reflexions are above my capacity, and do not suit me.

9. *To have the gift of speaking, and to know how to give the proper bent of mind to people with address.*

I place this quality amongst the military virtues, because a General ought to be so in all things; and to discharge the functions of his office, his tongue, as well as his head and hand, is often a necessary instrument. This is one of the things, which Hannibal
 Liv. xxxv. 14. *esteemed most in Pyrrhus: artem etiam conciliandi sibi homines miram habuisse*; and he puts this talent on an equal rank with the perfect knowledge of the art military, by which Pyrrhus distinguished himself most.

To judge of our two Captains by the speeches which historians have preserved, they both excelled in the talent of speaking: but I cannot tell, whether those historians have not lent them some part of their own eloquence. Some very ingenious repartees of Hannibal, which have come down to us from history, shew that he had an excellent fund of wit, and that nature alone was capable of doing that in him, which art and study do in others. But * Cornelius Nepos tells us, that he did not want letters, and that he had even composed works in Greek. As to Scipio, his parts were more improved; and though the age he lived in was not so polite as that of the second Scipio,

* Atque hic tantus vir, tantisque bellis districtus, non nihil temporis tribuit Literis. Namque aliquot ejus libri sunt Græco sermone confecti. CORN. NEP. in Annib. cap. 13.

surnamed Africanus, as well as him, his intimacy with the poet Ennius, with whom it was his desire to have a common tomb, gives us room to believe, that he Idem. Lib. 26. n. 19. did not want taste for polite learning. However it be, Livy observes, that, when he arrived in Spain to command the army, in the first audience which he gave the deputies of the province, he spoke with a certain air of greatness that commanded respect, and at the same time in that simple and natural manner which persuades and inspires confidence; so that, without letting a word escape that favoured in the least of haughtiness, he presently engaged the good opinion of every body, and acquired universal esteem and admiration. On another occasion, when Scipio and Asdrubal happened to be in the palace of Syphax to treat of affairs, the same historian observes, that Scipio had such an ascendant in conversation, and influenced people as he pleased with so much address, that he equally charmed his host and his enemy by the force and attractions of his eloquence. And the Carthaginian afterwards owned, that this private conversation had given him an higher idea of Scipio than his victories and conquests; and that he did not doubt, but that Syphax and his kingdom were already in the power of the Romans, so much art and capacity had Scipio in conciliating every body to his views. A single fact like this suffices to shew of what consequence it is to persons destined to the profession of arms, industriously to cultivate the talent of speaking: and it is hard to conceive how officers, who may have great talents for war, should sometime seem to be ashamed to know things out of their profession. Lib. 28. n. 12.

C O N C L U S I O N.

The question should now be to determine between Hannibal and Scipio in respect to military talents: but such a decision is not within my sphere. I have heard that in the opinion of the best Judges, Hannibal is the most consummate Captain the world ever saw in

the military art. And indeed it was in his school the Romans attained perfection in it, after having passed their first apprenticeship in the science against Pyrrhus. It must be confessed, that no General ever knew better how to take advantage of his ground for drawing up an army in battle, applying his troops to the service for which they were most fit, laying ambuscades, finding resources in distress, or keeping up discipline amongst so many different nations. He himself found subsistence and pay for his troops, remounted his cavalry, recruited his infantry, and supplied all the munitions necessary for sustaining an heavy war in a foreign country, against powerful enemies, during the space of sixteen successive years, and notwithstanding a powerful domestick faction, which refused him every thing, and distressed him in all things. And certainly we may call this a great General.

I also own, that to make a just comparison between the design of Hannibal and that of Scipio, that of Hannibal must be confessed to be the boldest, most dangerous, most difficult, and the most destitute of resources. He had the country of the Gauls to pass through, whom he was to consider as enemies; the Alps to pass, which would have been impracticable to any other; to settle the theatre of the war in the midst of the enemy's country and in the very heart of Italy, where he had neither towns, magazines, certain aid, or hopes of retreat. Add to this, that he attacked the Romans at the time of their greatest force, when their troops were entirely fresh, and still haughty and flushed from the success of the preceding war, were full of courage and confidence. As to Scipio, he had but a short trip to make from Sicily into Africa. He had a powerful fleet, and was master of the sea. He preserved a free communication with Sicily, from whence he had in any quantities ammunitions and provisions. He attacked the Carthaginians towards the end of a war, in which they had suffered great losses, at a time when their power began to decline, and when they began to be exhausted of money, men, and courage.

rage. Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily had been taken from them, and they could no longer make any diversions against the Romans. Asdrubal's army had lately been cut to pieces : that of Hannibal was extremely weakened by many blows, and an almost universal want of all things. All these circumstances seem to give Hannibal much the preference to Scipio.

But two difficulties give me pause : the one deduced from the Generals he overcame ; the other from the faults he committed.

May it not be said, that the glorious victories, which rendered the name of Hannibal so famous, were as much owing to the imprudence and rashness of the Roman Generals, as to his own valour and good conduct ? When Fabius was given the command against him, and afterwards Scipio ; the one checked his progress, and the other entirely defeated him.

The two faults said to be committed by Hannibal, the first in not marching directly to Rome immediately after the Battle of Cannæ, supposing it really a fault ; the second, in suffering his troops to be enervated at Capua, must greatly lessen his reputation. For these faults appear to some, essential, decisive, irreparable, and entirely contrary to the principal quality of a General, which is sense and judgment. As to Scipio, I do not find that he is reproached with any thing of the like nature, during the whole time he commanded the Roman armies.

I do not wonder therefore, that Hannibal, in the judgment he is said to have passed upon the most accomplished Generals, having given himself the third place after Alexander and Pyrrhus, on Scipio's asking him what he should say if he had conquered, replied : “ I should then have set myself above Alexander and Pyrrhus, and all the Generals that ever were.” A fine and delicate praise, and highly in favour of Scipio, which it distinguishes from all other Captains, as superior to them, and as being above comparison with any of them.

S E C T. II.

M O R A L and C I V I L V I R T U E S.

THIS is Scipio's triumph, whose goodness, mildness, moderation, generosity, justice, even chastity, and religion, are with reason admired: I say, this is the triumph of Scipio, or rather that of virtue; infinitely preferable to all the most glorious victories, conquests, and dignities. This is the fine thought which we have seen in Livy, where he speaks of the deliberation of the Senate, assembled to determine which of the Romans was the best and most worthy man. *Haud parvæ rei judicium Senatum tenebat, qui vir optimus in civitate esset. Veram certè victoriam ejus rei sibi quisque mallet, quàm ulla imperia bonæve suffragio seu Patrum seu plebis delatos.*

Liv. xxix.
14.

The reader will not hesitate here, in whose favour to declare, especially if he remembers the horrid account Livy gives us of Hannibal. "His great vices, says that historian, after having repeated his praise, equalled such great virtues: inhuman cruelty, more than Carthaginian perfidy, no regard for truth or any thing sacred; no fear of the Gods, no regard for oaths, no religion." *Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia æquabant: inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plusquam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti: nullus deum metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio.*

Liv. xxi. 4.

We have here a strange portrait. I do not know whether it be faithfully copied after nature, and whether prejudice has not much heightened the colours. For, generally speaking, the Romans may be suspected of not doing Hannibal sufficient justice, and of having said abundance of ill of him, because he had done them much. Neither Polybius nor Plutarch, who have frequently occasion to mention him, gave him the horrid vices imputed to him by Livy. The very facts related by Livy contradict his picture of him.

To

To mention only the single imputation, * *nullus deum metus, nulla religio*, there are proofs to the contrary. Before he set out from Spain, he went to Cadiz to discharge the vows he had made to Hercules, and to make new ones to him, in case that God favoured his enterprize. *Annibal Gades profectus, Herculi vota exolvit, novisque se obligat votis, si cetera prospere evenissent.* Liv. xx. 22.

Is this the behaviour of a man who knows neither religion, nor God? What induced him to quit his army, and undertake so long a pilgrimage? if it was hypocrisy, to impose upon superstitious nations, it had been more for his advantage to assume this mask of religion in the sight of all his troops assembled, and to imitate the religious ceremonies used by the Romans in the lustrations of their armies. Soon after Hannibal has a vision, which he believes to come from the Gods, who reveal futurity to him, and the success of his enterprize. He passed several years near the rich temple of Juno Lacinia; and he not only took away nothing from it in the most pressing occasions of his army, but he was so attentive to protect it, though it was without the city, that none of his troops ever stole any thing out of it; and himself, before he quitted Italy, left a superb monument there. It was very clearly acknowledging the power of the divinity, to declare, as he did, that the Gods had sometimes deprived him of the will, and sometimes of the power of taking Rome. In the treaty which he made with Philip, † after having invoked the Gods to witness it, he evidently shews, that it is from their protection he expects all the success of his arms. And lastly, at his death, he invokes all the Gods avengers of hospitality. All these facts, and many others, absolutely acquit him of the crime of irreligion with which Livy taxes him. The same may be said of his perjuries and want of faith in treaties. I do not find that he ever violated any, though the Carthaginians did, but without his participation. However it be, I shall not

Ibid. 12.]

Ibid.
xxviii. 46.
Ibid.
xxvi. 11.

Ibid.
xxiii. 33.

* No fear of the Gods, no religion.

† Polybius relates this circumstance.

draw a parallel in this place between these two Captains, in respect to civil and moral virtues. I shall content myself with relating some of those, that shone out most in Scipio.

1. Generosity, liberality.

These are the virtues of great souls, as the love of money is the vice of mean spirits, void of honour. Scipio knew the true value of money, which is to make friends with it, and to attach mankind. The gifts which he had the address to time seasonably, the money which he generously restored to those who came to ransom either their children or relations, gained him almost as many adherents as his victories. He thereby entered into the views and character of the Roman People, who, as Scipio said himself, chose rather to attach men to them by acts of beneficence, than by fear: *quo beneficio quàm metu obligare homines*

Liv.
xxvi. 20.

malit.

2. Goodness, lenity.

It is not possible to do good to all men, but it is to express good-will for all men. This is a coin with which many are satisfied, and does not exhaust the coffers of a General.

Scipio had a wonderful talent for conciliating good opinion, and for gaining the heart, by kind, polite, and engaging behaviour.

He treated the officers with good-breeding, set the full value upon their services, extolled their glorious actions, gave them great presents or great praises, and even acted in the same manner with those who might have given some cause of jealousy, if he had been capable of it. He always kept Marcius, that famous officer, about his person, who, after the death of his father and uncle, had reinstated the affairs of Spain; thereby shewing, says the historian, how far he was from taking umbrage at the merit of others: *Ut facile*

Ibid. 20.

cilè appareret nihil minùs quàm vereri, ne quis obfaret gloriæ fuæ.

He knew how to temper even his reprimands with an air of goodnefs and candour, which rendered even reproof amiable. That which he was obliged to make Masiniffa, who, blinded by his paffion, had married Sophoniffa, the declared enemy of the Roman People, is a perfect model of the manner in which persons ought to behave and fpeak in fuch delicate conjunctures. All the refinements of eloquence, all the precautions of prudence and wifdom, all the referves of friendship, and all the dignity and elevation of command, without any air of haughtinefs, are employed in it. Liv. xxx. 14.

His goodnefs difplayed itfelf even in chaftifements. He ufed them only once, and very much againft his will. This was in the fedition of Sucro, which neceffarily required, that examples fhould be made. “ * He thought it, fays he, tearing out his own bowels, when he faw himfelf obliged to expiate the crime of eight thoufand by the deaths of thirty.” It is remarkable that Scipio on this occafion does not make ufe of the words, *felus*, *crimen*, *facinus*, but of *noxa*, which is a much fofter term, and fignifies only a *fault*. Neither does he venture to determine whether it be a fault or not; and leaves room to fuppofe that it was only imprudence and levity: *oçto millium feu imprudentiam, feu noxam*.

He deemed it infinitely more meritorious to contribute to the prefervation of a fingle citizen, than to kill a thoufand of the enemy. † Capitolinus obferves, that the Emperor Antoninus Pius often repeated this maxim of Scipio’s, and put it in practice.

* Tum fe haud fecus quàm viscera fecantem fua, cum gemitu & lacrymis triginta hominum capitibus expiaffe oçto millium feu imprudentiam, feu noxam. Lib. 28. n. 32.

† Antoninus Pius Scipionis fententiam frequentabat, qua die dicebat, malle fe unum civem fervare, quàm mille hoftium occidere. Capitol. cap. 9.

3. *Justice.*

The exercise of this virtue is properly the function of those who are established in dignity and authority. It was by this that Scipio rendered the Roman sway so gentle and grateful to the allies and conquered nations, and made himself so tenderly beloved by the States, that they considered him as their protector and father. He must have had a great passion for justice, as he piqued himself upon doing it even to the enemy after they had rendered themselves entirely unworthy of it. The Carthaginians, during a truce which had been granted at their earnest request, took and plundered, with the knowledge and by order of the Republic, some Roman ships which had put to sea; and to carry the insult to the utmost height, the Ambassadors, who had been sent to Carthage to complain of the insult, were attacked on their return, and almost taken by Asdrubal. The Ambassadors of Carthage, who returned from Rome, had fallen into Scipio's hands. He was pressed to use reprisals. "No *," said he. "Though the Carthaginians have not only violated the faith of the truce, but also the law of nations in the persons of our Ambassadors, I shall not treat theirs in a manner unworthy either of the Roman dignity, or the rules of moderation, which I have hitherto followed."

4. *Greatness of soul.*

It shines out in all the actions, and almost in all the words of Scipio. But the States of Spain were entirely struck with them, when he refused the name of King, which they offered him, when charmed with

* *Et si non induciarum modò fides à Carthaginiensibus, sed etiam jus gentium in legatis violatum esset; tamen se nihil nec institutis populi Romani nec suis moribus indignum in iis facturum esse. Lib. 30. 11. 25.*

his valour and generosity. They perceived, † says Livy, what greatness of soul there was in thus regarding with contempt and disdain a title, which constitutes the principal object of the admiration and desire of the rest of mortals.

It is with the same air of greatness, when obliged Lib. 38. to make his defence before the People, that he speaks so nobly of his services and exploits : and that instead of making a timorous apology for his conduct, he goes to the Capitol, followed by the whole People, to thank the Gods for the victories they had vouchsafed that he should gain.

5. *Chastity.*

We can scarce conceive how a Pagan could carry the love of this virtue so high as Scipio did. The story of the young Princess of exquisite beauty, who was kept in his house as if she was in that of her own father, is known by every body. I have related it with sufficient extent, as well as the fine discourse which he made to Masinissa upon the same subject.

6. *Religion.*

I have frequently quoted the famous conversation between Cambyfes King of Persia and his son Cyrus, which, with reason, is considered as an abridgment of the most useful lessons that can be given to whoever is to command armies, or be employed in government. This excellent discourse begins and ends with what concerns religion, as if all other advice without that must be useless. Cambyfes, above all things, recommends to his son religiously to discharge all the duties which the Divinity requires from mankind : never to form any enterprize great or small, without consulting the Gods : to begin all his actions by imploring their aid, and to cause them to be succeeded by thanksgiv-

† Sensere etiam barbari magnitudinem animi, cujus miraculo nominis alii mortales stuperent, id ex tam alto fastigio aspernantis. Lib. 27. n. 19.

ings; all good success proceeding from their protection, to which no one has a right, and which consequently is to be ascribed to them. Accordingly this is what Cyrus practised very exactly; and he confesses himself in the conversation from which this is extracted, that he set out for his first campaign full of confidence in the goodness of the Gods, because he is conscious to himself of having never neglected their worship.

I do not know, whether our Scipio had read the Cyropædia, as the second certainly had, who made it his usual study: but it is evident, that he imitated Cyrus in every thing, especially in religious worship.

Liv. xxvi. 19. From the time that he put on the robe of manhood, that is, from the age of seventeen, he never began

any affair, either public or private, without having first been at the Capitol, to implore the aid of Jupiter. We have in Livy the solemn prayer which he made to the Gods in setting out from Sicily to Africa:

Ibid. xxix. 27. and the same historian does not omit to observe, that soon after the taking of Carthagenæ, he publicly thanked the Gods for the good success of that enterprize: *Postero die, militibus navalibusque sociis convocatis, primum diis immortalibus laudesque & grates egit.*

Ibid. xxvi. 48. The question here is not to examine what this religion was either of Cyrus, or Scipio. Every body knows that it must have been false. But the example which he gives all commanders, and all men, of beginning and ending all their actions by prayers and thanksgivings, is but too strong. For what would they not have said and done, if like us they had been illuminated with true religion, and had the good fortune to know the true God? After such examples, what shame would it be for Christian Generals, not to seem as religious as these Captains of the antient Pagan world.

T H E

R O M A N H I S T O R Y.

B O O K T H E T W E N T Y - F I F T H.

THE great subject of our history during the ten or twelve following years, is the war of the Romans with Perseus the last King of Macedonia, which terminates with the ruin of that kingdom, and the end of the Macedonian power. This event is mingled in Livy with some inconsiderable expeditions in Spain, Istria, Liguria, Sardinia, Corsica, and some other provinces. I shall first treat of these expeditions separately, and in the most succinct manner possible; however, without omitting any thing that shall seem worthy of attention. I shall do the same in respect to the domestick affairs and polity of Rome. In this method, the war in Macedonia, not being interrupted with foreign events, will be related with more order and less obscurity.

Affairs of Spain.

L. Postumius and Ti. Sempronius Proprætors, divided Celtiberia between them, and each on their side gained many battles, and took a great number of cities. Both had afterwards the honour of triumphing.

Five

A. R. 573.
Ant. C.
179.
Liv. xl.
47—50.

A. R. 578.
Ant. C. 174.
Liv. xli. 26. Five years after, the Celtiberians, whom Sempromius seemed to have entirely subjected, revolted with great insolence, and even were so bold to attack the camp of the Romans, which they at first put into great confusion: but they were soon vigorously repulsed. Fifteen thousand men were either killed or taken prisoners on their side.

A. R. 582.
Ant. C. 170.
Flor. ii. 17.
Liv. xliii. 4. A revolt, excited amongst the Celtiberians by an enthusiastic soldier, who pretended to have received a silver javelin from heaven, and designed to assassinate the Prætor, was quelled by the death of the criminal, who was killed upon the spot, and by the wise moderation used by the Prætor to bring the people back to their duty.

War of Istria.

A. R. 574.
Ant. C. 178.
Liv. xli. 1-6. Istria is a province of Italy in the state of Venice: its principal cities are POLA, called also *Pietas Julia*; PARENTIUM, *Parento*; TERGESTA, *Trieſte*; which were antiently part of it.

The Consul Manlius had Gaul for his province. Not finding any thing there to deserve a triumph, at which he aspired, he seized the occasion of making war upon the Istrians with joy. Besides the aid they had formerly granted the Ætolians against the armies of the Commonwealth, they had very lately made incursions upon the allies of Rome, that had terminated in plunder, of which this nation were very greedy. Manlius, without waiting the Senate's orders, set out from Aquileja, where he was, in order to attack this people. The Commonwealth had a squadron on this sea to defend the coast. The Consul sent part of it into the nearest port of the confines of Istria, with transports laden with provisions. He repaired thither himself by land, and incamped five miles from the sea. To secure the convoys, and sustain the foragers, he posted many detachments round his camp. That on the side of Istria between the sea and the camp, had orders not to quit their post. This was a cohort of

of new raised men in the colony of Placentia, strengthened with some other troops.

A. R. 574.
Ant. C.
178.

The Istrians had followed the enemy's army through by-ways without being discovered, watching an occasion to attack it with advantage. Having discovered that the detachments which surrounded the camp were not numerous, and observed little order, they attacked the cohort of Placentia. A fog that arose that morning concealed their march: but being half dispersed by the first rays of the sun, a kind of gloom remained, which magnifying objects, presented the appearance of a much more numerous army to the eyes of the Romans, than that of the enemy was. The soldiers fled terrified into the camp, where they occasioned still more dread than they had themselves. The cries raised at the gates, the gloom which augmented the confusion, the agitation of the soldiers, who in running from their several quarters crowded and fell over one another, all this made the remotest apprehend, that the enemy had entered the intrenchments. A voice raised by chance bade the troops run towards the sea. As if it had been the signal for departure, at first a small number of soldiers, most without arms, made towards the port: a greater number imitated them: and at last all the troops followed them to the Consul himself, who had ineffectually employed his authority, orders, and even entreaties to retain them. None stayed but the legionary Tribune M. Lacinius Strabo, with about five or six hundred men.

The enemy having entered the lines, fell upon that officer, who was drawing up his small body of troops in battle. The fight was bloody, and ended only when that Tribune with all his soldiers was killed. The Istrians having found a great abundance of all kinds of provisions in the camp, their King, called Epulo, sat down to table, and began to feast. All that followed him quitting their arms, did the same without regard to the enemy. As it was not their custom to meet with either such good provisions, or in such

A. R. 574. such abundance, they greedily glutted themselves with
 Ant. C. wine and meat.
 178.

The Romans were then in a very different situation. They were in a consternation both by sea and land. The marines struck their tents, and carried away as fast as possible the provisions and munitions exposed upon the shore. The land-soldiers full of terror threw themselves into boats and endeavoured to gain the sea. The pilots and mariners, apprehending that their vessels would be overladen, took care, some to keep off the multitude that came for refuge, and others to remove their ships from shore, and to stand out to the open sea. Hence arose a fight between the soldiers and ships crews, which did not pass without wounds and bloodshed; till at length by the Consul's order, the fleet removed from the shore, and made out to sea.

The whole Roman army would have been the enemy's prey, if they had known any thing of making war. The Consul, taking advantage of their ignorance, drew together all the troops that remained from the different places into which they had dispersed in flight. Without loss of time he led them to the camp. The few Istrians, who were not drunk, fled: the rest were put to the sword. The Romans recovered all they had left in their camp, except the wine and provisions which the Barbarians had consumed. About eight thousand Istrians were killed. Their King fled more than half drunk with the help of an horse upon which his people had set him, after having taken him in haste from table. The loss of the Romans was not considerable.

The news of the flight of the Consular army having reached Rome, occasioned great alarm there. As rumour always magnifies objects, especially for the worst, the army was believed to be entirely defeated. New troops were raised with extraordinary haste. Orders were given on different sides for sending aid to the Consul. Junius his colleague marched from Liguria into Gaul. But he was informed on his route, that

that the Roman army was safe, and that the Istrians were retired. He immediately dispatched a courier to Rome to carry this good news thither, which delivered the city from great disquiet. The two Consuls returned to Aquileja, in order to put their troops into winter quarters there.

A. R. 574.
Ant. C.
178.

C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

A. R. 575.
Ant. C.
177.

TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

As soon as the winter was over, the two Consuls of the preceeding year, Manlius and Junius, made their troops enter the country of the Istrians, and put all to fire and sword. The latter, having armed all their youth, ventured a battle, in which about four thousand were killed. They retired into their cities and towns, from whence they sent to demand peace of the Roman Generals, and then gave the hostages required of them.

When this news was brought to Rome by letters from the proconsuls, the Consul C. Claudius, to whom Istria had fallen by lot for his province, apprehended that this good success would deprive him of the occasion of signalizing himself. He therefore set out suddenly from Rome in the night, without having made the usual vows in the Capitol, and without being attended by his Lictors, or apprizing his Collegue of his design. After having assembled the army, he began by declaiming in violent terms against the cowardice with which Manlius had abandoned his camp: whereby he mortified all the soldiers, who had fled first. He afterwards reproached Junius of making himself the accomplice of his Collegue's bad conduct, by joining him. And he concluded his invectives by giving them both orders to quit the province immediately.

They answered him, that if he had made the solemn vows in the Capitol for the safety of the State, and had quitted the city in his coat of arms and preceded by his Lictors, as custom and the laws required, they would

A. R. 575. would make no difficulty to obey him. But till he
 Ant. C. 177. had discharged those obligations, they could not acknowledge the consular authority in him. This answer put the Consul into a fury. He ordered Manlius's Quæstor to be called, and commanded him to bring chains, threatening to send Junius and Manlius bound hand and foot to Rome if they did not obey. That officer shewed no more regard to his orders. The whole army surrounding their Generals, whose defence they avowedly took upon themselves, gave every body confidence and courage to despise the commands and menaces of so violent and unreasonable a Consul.

Claudius, not being able to bear this opposition and the raillery of the soldiers (for they added insult to disobedience) returned to Aquileja in the same ship that brought him. From thence he wrote to his Colleague to make the troops intended for Istria repair to Aquileja, in order that when he should arrive at Rome, and have made the usual vows in the Capitol, nothing should keep him in the city, and that he might immediately quit it with all the formalities of his command. His Colleague executed the whole punctually, and ordered the troops in question to repair immediately to Aquileja. Claudius followed his letters as soon as possible, and no sooner arrived at Rome, than having assembled the People to inform them of what had passed between him and the Proconsuls Manlius and Junius, he immediately performed the ceremony of the Capitol; and on the third day, in the usual robe and attended by his Lictors, he returned into his province with as much expedition as he had before.

Liv. xli. ii. Junius and Manlius had already for some days attacked the city of Nesartium, in which the principal Istrians, with their King Epulo, had shut themselves up. But as soon as Claudius arrived with two new legions, he dismissed them and the old troops; and continuing the siege of that place, he endeavoured to make himself master of it by the help of works and machines. For this purpose, having by a work of several

several days turned the current of the river, which running along the walls, prevented his attacks, and supplied the besieged with water, of which they were in want, he no less terrified than surprized the Barbarians, who saw themselves deprived of a support absolutely necessary to them. But by the extremity to which he had reduced them, he could not induce them to ask peace. Rather than surrender, those frantic People resolved to kill their wives and children, and to exhibit to the besiegers a sight, which shewed them of what they were capable; after having cut their throats before their eyes, they threw their dead bodies from their walls into their camp. Whilst these Barbarians were employed in these horrid executions, and the cries of their women and children made no impression on their cruel hearts, the Romans scaled the walls and entered the place. As soon as the King judged from the cries of those who fled, that the place was in the enemy's power, to avoid falling alive into the victor's hands, he killed himself with his sword. All the rest were either killed or taken. The Consul also took and demolished two other cities. He found more plunder in them, than he expected from so poor a nation, and gave it entirely to the soldiers. He sold five thousand prisoners by auction, and caused the authors of the war to be whipt and beheaded. Istria, by the death of its King and the ruin of the three cities, re-attained its former tranquility, and all its States gave hostages to the Romans, and submitted to their sway. Thanksgivings were decreed at Rome for these successes.

A. R. 575.
Ant. C.
177.

Liv. xli. 11.

Expeditions in L I G U R I A.

Two years before what we have just related, Liguria had been given as a province to the two Consuls Q. Fulvius and L. Manlius. The first having overcome the enemy, made them quit their hills to settle in the plains, and left troops upon the mountains to secure

A. R. 573.
Ant. C.
179.
Liv. xl. 53.

A. R. 573. secure those posts. His colleague Manlius did nothing
 Ant. C. considerable. Gauls of the other side of the Alps
 179. having at this time entered Italy to the number of
 three thousand, without committing any hostilities, asked
 land of the Consul and Senate where they might settle
 and live in peace under the protection of, and in de-
 pendance upon the Roman People. The Senate or-
 dered the Gauls to quit Italy, and the Consul Q. Ful-
 vius to find out those who had advised this swarm to
 pass the Alps, and to punish them.

A. R. 575. The next year passed without acting against the Li-
 Ant. C. gurians. But in the year 575 Claudius had no sooner
 177. subjected the Istrians, than he received orders from the
 Liv. xli. Senate to march his legions into Liguria. He gave
 12, 13. the enemy battle, killed them fifteen thousand men,
 and took above seven hundred prisoners, with fifty-one
 ensigns. On his return to Rome he triumphed over
 Istria and Liguria.

Ibid. 14, The Ligurians did not long continue quiet. Clau-
 & 16. dius received new orders to march against them, and
 defeated them a second time. They retired to their
 mountains.

Ibid. 18. The Consul Pætilius attacked them there. He
 was killed in battle. The enemy did not discover it,
 and were again defeated with the loss of five thousand
 men.

A. R. 579. Three years after the Consul M. Popillius fought
 Ant. C. the Ligurians near Carystos, in the territory of the
 173. Statiellates, where their troops had assembled on the
 Liv. xliii. arrival of the Romans. At first they kept within the
 7. walls of that city: but perceiving that the Consul
 was preparing to besiege them, they drew up in bat-
 tle before the gates. This was what Popillius wanted.
 The combat continued three hours, and was very
 bloody. The Ligurians left ten thousand men upon
 the field, and the victorious Romans lost above three
 thousand. After this defeat the Ligurians surrendered
 at discretion, in hopes that the Consul would not treat
 them more rigorously than the preceding Generals
 had done. But he took from them all their arms, un-
 doubtedly

doubtedly forbade them to make new ones, demolished their city, sold them and their effects by auction, and wrote an account to the Senate of all that had passed in his province.

A. R. 579.
Ant. C.
173.

When the Prætor A. Atilius, in the Consul's absence, had read the letter in the Senate, there was not a single Senator who did not think the Consul's conduct vile and infamous. They said, "that the Stathelliates, the only people of Liguria, who had not borne arms against the Commonwealth, who, even on this last occasion, had not been the aggressors, and had only defended themselves against the Consul who attacked them, undoubtedly deserved to be treated with some moderation: that notwithstanding, after they had submitted and abandoned themselves to the faith of the Roman People, he had exercised all the cruelties imaginable against them: that by selling so many thousand innocent persons for slaves, who implored the justice of the Roman People, he had set a pernicious example, which in the consequence would only occasion, that they should have no enemy who would not rather chuse to fight to the last extremity, than submit."

Liv. xlii.
8, 9.

It was therefore decreed, "That the Consul Popillius should reinstate the Ligurians in their liberty, by returning their money to those who had bought them: that he should take care to restore such of their effects as could be found: that they should be permitted to make themselves arms; and lastly, that the Consul should quit the province as soon as he should have re-established the Ligurians in their former condition." The Senate's maxim was, * that what renders a victory glorious, is to subdue those who oppose in arms, and not to treat those cruelly who submit.

The Consul was not in haste to execute orders so mortifying for him. He immediately put his legions

* *Claram victoriam vincendo pugnantes, non sœviendo in afflictos, fieri.* This Virgil observes in the fine verse every body remembers. *Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.*

A. R. 579 into winter-quarters at Pisæ, and returned to Rome
 Ant. C. full of rage and indignation. Having assembled the
 173. Senate in the temple of Bellona, he made bitter complaints upon the decree which had been passed against him, to which nothing was wanting, said he, but his being delivered up to the conquered people : he demanded that it might be annulled ; and that the Prætor, who had proposed and passed it, might be fined. He insisted much upon public thanksgivings, which he pretended to be due to the Gods for the good success of his arms. He received no other answer but reproaches as warm as he deserved, and returned to his army without obtaining any thing he had demanded.

A. R. 580.
 Ant. C.
 172.

C. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.

P. ÆLIUS LIGUR.

Liv. xlii.
 10.

The beginning of this year the disputes of the preceding were revived. The Senators were for having the affair of the Ligurians brought again upon the carpet, and that the decree of the Senate in their favour might be renewed ; and this was moved by the Consul Ælius. On the other side Popillius interceded for his brother with his colleague and the Senate, declaring that he would oppose all that should be resolved against him. He had no difficulty to bring over his colleague : but the Senators were only the more inclined in effect to persist in their opinion. The Consuls did not set out for their provinces, because they would not permit the Senate, who made instances to that purpose, to deliberate upon the affair of M. Popillius ; and the Senate on their side were for deciding it previously to all others.

Ibid. 21.

In the mean time M. Popillius made himself still more odious than before, by writing to the Senate, that in quality of Proconsul he had given the Ligurians Statellites battle a second time, in which he had killed them ten thousand men. So unjust a war had induced all the other States of Liguria to resume their arms.

arms. The Senate then rose up with great warmth not only against the absent Popillius, who, contrary to justice and the law of nations, had declared war upon a subjected people, and made a nation, that remained at peace, revolt, but also against the Consuls, who neglected to repair to their province.

Two Tribunes of the People, animated by this unanimous consent of the Senate, declared they would fine the Consuls, if they did not go and take upon them the command of the armies; and at the same time they caused the law they intended to propose concerning the Ligurians, who had surrendered upon the faith of the Consul Popillius, to be read in the Senate. By this law it was decreed, that if there were any of the Ligurians Statellites, whom Popillius had sold since they had surrendered to him, and were not restored to liberty before the approaching Calends (the first day) of August, the Senate, assembled upon oath, should appoint a commissioner, to inform against him who should be found guilty of having unjustly reduced them into slavery, and to make him suffer the punishment due to his injustice. This law was proposed in effect with the authority of the Senate. The People passed it with joy; and in consequence the Prætor C. Licinius demanded of the Senators, that they would direct the informations it decreed, to be made; and they gave that commission to the Prætor himself.

The Consuls at length set out for their province, where they took upon them the command of the army, which M. Popillius resigned to them. But that General did not dare yet to return to Rome, to avoid being obliged, odious as he actually was to the Senate, and still more to the People, to answer for his conduct before a Prætor, who had proposed the law in the Senate for bringing him to a trial. To this desertion of the accused, the Tribunes opposed the menaces of another law, importing, that if he did not return to the city before the Ides (the thirteenth)

A.R. 580. of November, the Prætor C. Licinius should pass
 Ant. C. sentence upon him for contumacy.

172.
 Liv. xlii.
 22.

It was then necessary to obey. Accordingly he returned to Rome. As soon as he appeared in the Senate, the general discontent of that Body revived by his presence, drew upon him a thousand warm reproaches followed with a decree, by which it was ordained, that such of the Ligurians, who had not been enemies of the Commonwealth since the Consulship of Q. Fulvius and L. Manlius, should be reinstated in their liberty by the Prætors C. Licinius and Cn. Sicinius, and that the Consul C. Popillius, the accused's brother, should settle them on the other side of the Po. This regulation restored the liberty of many thousands, who were made to pass the Po, in order to cultivate lands which were assigned them.

M. Popillius, in virtue of the law passed by the Tribunes in favour of the Ligurians, was obliged to appear and take his trial before the Prætor, and to defend himself at two hearings. His affair not being determined, it was brought on a third time. But the Prætor then, having been influenced by his consideration for the absent Consul C. Popillius, and the intercession of the whole family of those two brothers, put off the sentence to the Ides (the fifteenth) of March, the day on which the new magistrates were to enter upon office, and he was to quit his to resume a private condition. Thereby, not being any longer in authority, he left the affair undecided. And this was the artificial evasion employed to elude the law, and procure impunity for Popillius.

But is it therefore allowable for a judge to elude the authority of laws in this manner, and to screen a person so criminal as this from their just rigour? Not to mention the insolent contempt of so venerable a body as the Roman Senate, can we with cool blood behold the misfortune of an infinite number of freemen, condemned without reason to a cruel slavery, and, which is much more horrid, the murder of twenty thousand innocent persons, in two battles fought by
 this

this Consul, contrary to the Senate's prohibition? And in such a case, * shall recommendation, friendship, and credit take place of the views of public good? Is it not sometimes as great a prevarication to acquit a criminal, as to condemn an innocent person: since it is opening a door to licence, to leave guilt unpunished? Does a magistrate, in the exercise of his function, believe himself at liberty to act as he shall think fit? What then becomes of that admirable principle so strongly inculcated by a Pagan: That the † State, in appointing a judge, does not give up its power absolutely to his discretion, but confides it to him as a deposit for which he is accountable? That he ought not to consult his own inclination, but the inviolable rule of his duty in the exercise of his office? That, though he should even have neither associates nor witnesses, he ought not to think himself as alone, but to see around him the laws, religion, equity, and fidelity, as so many coadjutors, who sit in judgment with him, and will judge himself; and especially hear and regard the secret voice of conscience, which can never be totally suppressed? Licinius on this occasion violates all these rules. Livy's expression, which distinguishes his conduct as only fallacious address, seems to me far from being sufficiently strong. *Ita rogatio de Liguribus arte fallaci elusa est.*

A. R. 580.
Ant. C.
172.

AFFAIRS of SARDINIA and CORSICA.

What passed in these islands is of little consequence. Two States of Sardinia disturbed its tranquillity. The Consul Ti. Sempronius marched his troops against

A. R. 575.
Ant. C.
177.
Liv. xli.
6—12.

* Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. SALLUST. in bell. Jugurth.

† Est sapientis Judicis cogitare, tantum sibi à populo Romano esse permittum, quantum commissum & creditum sit, & non solum sibi potestatem datam, verum etiam fidem habitam esse meminisse.—Tum verò illud est hominis magni atque sapientis, cum illam, judicandi causâ, tabellam sumpserit, non se putare esse solum, sed habere in consilio legem, religionem, æquitatem fidem—maximique æstimare conscientiam mentis suæ, quam ab diis immortalibus accepimus, quæ à nobis divelli non potest. CIC. in orat. pro Cluent. n. 159.

A. R. 575. them, and defeated them in a battle, in which they
 Ant. C. lost twelve thousand troops. He fought them several
 177. times after, and killed them above fifteen thousand
 Liv. xli. men in different actions. They submitted to the Ro-
 17. mans, and gave them hostages. In this manner the
 peace of the island was restored.

Ibid. xlii. The Prætor Cicereius defeated the Corsicans in a
 7—21. battle, in which they had seven thousand men killed,
 and more than seventeen hundred taken prisoners.
 Peace, which they earnestly solicited was granted them,
 and these islanders were made to pay two hundred
 thousand pounds in weight of wax, which are about
 156,250 pounds of our weight. Cicereius had the
 honour of a triumph for this victory.

AFFAIRS *that happened at* ROME.

A. R. 574. M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
 Ant. C. A. MANLIUS VULSO.
 178.

Epit. 1. A vestal, who had suffered the eternal fire of Vesta
 xlii. to go out, was whipt according to custom.

Upon the closing of the Census by the Censors M.
 Æmilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior, the num-
 ber of the citizens amounted to two hundred and se-
 venty-three thousand two hundred and forty-four.

A. R. 575. C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
 Ant. C. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
 177.

Liv. xli. 8. The Latine allies brought their complaints before
 the Senate upon an abuse which was become com-
 mon amongst them. The law permitted those who
 had families and left any child in their country, to go
 and settle at Rome, and to cause themselves to be re-
 gistered upon the list of the citizens. Many, in elud-
 ing the law by different frauds, abandoned their
 country without leaving any children there to repre-
 sent them. The Latines remonstrated, that if this
 abuse continued, in few years their cities and countries
 would

would be uninhabited, and they should not be capable of supplying the Commonwealth with the usual number of soldiers. The Samnites and Peligni also represented, that four thousand families of their States were gone to settle at Fregellæ, and that notwithstanding, the same number of troops were required of them. The Senate deemed the complaints of their allies reasonable, and to redress the grievance, caused the old law passed upon that head to be strictly observed.

A. R. 575.
Ant. C.
177.

P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

A. R. 577.
Ant. C.
175.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS II.

In the election of Prætor for the following year, a thing happened worthy of remark. Five Prætors had already been chosen. The sixth vacancy was disputed, on one side by Lucius, or, according to Valerius Maximus, by Cn. Cornelius Scipio, son of the great Scipio Africanus; and on the other by C. Cicereius, who had been secretary to the same Scipio. Could it be believed that the People would hesitate a single moment to give the preference to Scipio's son? However the latter, by his bad conduct, had so much effaced the impression which the remembrance of his father had made upon people's minds, that all the Centuries declared for Cicereius. But he was so generous as not to suffer such an affront to be done to his master's son, and quitting the habit of candidate, he left him without competitor, and even supported him with his credit. The office was given to Scipio, but Cicereius had all the honour of it.

Val. Max.
iv. 11. &
iii. 5.

The glory of fathers is of no great weight to children, when their own merit falls short of it, and only serves to make their defects more conspicuous, and even, in effect, more contemptible. This the Scipio in question experienced, who was the same taken prisoner in the war with Antiochus, and afterwards sent back by that Prince to his father. He degenerated so much from the virtues of his father and ancestors, that his relations, according to Valerius Maximus, were

A. R. 577. obliged to use their interest to have him prohibited ex-
Ant. C. 177. exercising the functions of Prætor, and took from him the ring on which his father's head was engraved, that he wore on his finger, as dishonouring the name and memory of that great man by his conduct.

Scipio had another son, by whom the second Scipio Africanus was adopted. Cato, in the book which Cicero composed upon old age, speaks highly in his favour. He says, that but * for the weakness of his constitution, which was extreme, he was capable of having been the other light of Rome, and that to his father's greatness of soul he added erudition and a taste for polite learning. Accordingly, Cicero says in another book, † that some of his extant speeches, and an history wrote in Greek in a very agreeable stile, shew that if the force of his body had answered that of his mind, he might have been ranked in the number of the most eloquent orators.

A. R. 578.

Ant. C.

174.

SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

Liv. xli. 21.

There was a very great plague this year at Rome, which carried off abundance of citizens, and even of the most illustrious. Recourse, according to the religious custom in all times observed at Rome, was had to the Gods. Vows were made, and a great number of victims sacrificed to them.

Liv. ibid.

27.

The Censorship of Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postumius Albinus was remarkable for the severity which they exercised against nine Senators, whom they struck out of the list of that body. The Scipio, of whom we have just spoke, was of that number.

* Quàm fuit imbecillus P. Africani filius is, qui te adoptavit! "He speaks to the second Scipio Africanus)" quàm tenui aut potius nulla valetudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum ille extitisset lumen civitatis. Ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi doctrina uberior accesserat. De SENECT. 35.

† Si corpore valuisset, in primis habitus esset disertus. Indicant cum oratiunculæ, tum historia quædam Græca, scripta dulcissimè. BRUT. 77.

This punishment did not make him lose the office of Prætor. But it was not proper, that a man publicly dishonoured with a note of infamy, should be employed in the administration of justice; and it was for this reason that his relations prevailed to have him prohibited the exercise of that office. Many of the Knights were also degraded, and struck out of the list.

A. R. 578.
Ant. C.
174.

The same Censors also rendered themselves very famous by a great number of public works which they undertook and completed. Amongst others, * Livy observes, that they were the first who caused the streets of Rome to be paved with flints, put pebbles and gravel under the stones laid upon the great ways without Rome, and made causeways for the convenience of persons on foot.

What Livy describes here in few words, and those sufficiently obscure, may, in my opinion, be explained by what I have related in a former volume of this history, speaking of the Ædileship, which I have extracted word for word from father Montfaucon. The passage may be consulted.

The end of this year was remarkable for a new and important law relating to the women, and which occasioned much noise and stir in the city. Hitherto they had inherited all kinds of estates in the same manner as the men. From thence it often happened, that the fortunes of the most illustrious houses were transferred into strange families, which did the Commonwealth great prejudice, whose interest it is that considerable estates should be perpetuated in great families, to enable the heads of them to support the dignity of their births, and the expences attending great employments with splendor. Besides this reason, there was room to apprehend, that as the fortunes of private persons increased continually in proportion with the power of the State, if the ladies should come

Cic. in
Ver. I.
107. & de
Sen. 14.
Dio. l. lvi.

* Censores vias sternendas silice in urbe, glareâ extra urbem sub-sternendas, marginandasque, primi omnium locaverunt. Liv.

A. R. 578.
Ant. C.
174.

to possess considerable riches, as the sex is naturally inclined to shew and ornaments, their wealth might induce them to give into luxury and expence, and to deviate from the antient purity of manners, by departing from the antient simplicity of life. To obviate these inconveniences, Q. Voconius Saxa, Tribune of the People, proposed a law, “ by which it was prohibited for any one inrolled upon the list of the Roman citizens, since the Censorship of Aul. Postumius and Q. Fulvius, to appoint any woman his heiress, and that any woman should inherit any estate above the value of an hundred thousand sesterces,” (about six hundred and fifty pounds.) He added another article, which did not regard the women in particular. The first, which excluded them in general from inheriting the estates of Roman citizens, admitted great difficulties. Cato, who always declared against the ladies, and was then sixty-five years old, spoke against them now in favour of the law with great strength of voice and vivacity of action, and occasioned its being passed.

Liv. xlii. 3.

The Censor Q. Fulvius caused a temple to be built at Rome to the goddess Fortune, surnamed *Equestris*, to accomplish a vow, which he had made in Spain in a battle with the Celtiberians. As he was ambitious that it should be the most superb and magnificent structure of the city, he thought that marble tiles would not a little contribute to embellish it. With this design he went to Brutium, and caused half the tiles which covered the temple of Juno Lacinia to be taken away. That quantity seemed sufficient for that he was building. He had vessels ready to carry off these materials to Rome; and the allies, out of respect for his dignity as Censor, did not dare to oppose this sacrilege. Flaccus, on his return to Rome, caused the tiles to be unladen, and ordered them to be carried to the temple of Fortune. Though he did not say from whence he had taken them, it was soon known at Rome. The Senate murmured highly at it, and all demanded, that the affair should be brought upon

upon the carpet. The Cenfor's prefence was defired. As foon as he appeared, they began to rife up againft him with more vehemence than before. Each Senator, in particular, and all in general, made him the moft cutting reproaches. " That not contented with failing in reverence for the moft revered divinity in all that country, whom even Pyrrhus and Hannibal had always refpected, he had uncovered her temple, and had almoft ruined it. That he had taken off its roof, and had expofed it to all the injuries of the weather. That a Cenfor, whose office it was to watch over the manners of the citizens, and one of whose principal functions was to take care of temples, ran from city to city to ruin the temples of the Gods, and to rob them of their fineft ornaments. That fuch a violence exercifed upon profane and private buildings, would feem vile to all the world : but in refpect to the temples of the Gods, it was an abominable facrilige, and the confequences were to be feared for the whole Roman People. Could he imagine that one temple could be adorned by the ruins of another ? As if the Gods were not every where the fame, and one was to be violated to honour another."

A. R. 578.
Ant. C.
174.

Before they proceeded to voting, the whole Senate had evidently expreffed their sentiments. Accordingly it was unanimously determined, that the tiles fhould be carried back to the temple from which they had been taken, and that the wrath of Juno fhould be appeafed by facrifices. This was punctually executed. But the perfons who had been appointed to carry back the tiles, declared to the Senate, that they had been left below in the avenue, becaufe there was no workman to be found there who had fkill enough to replace them.

The Cenfors Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Poftumius Liv. xlii. Albinus clofed the Luftrum. The latter performed ^{10.} the ceremony. The number of the citizens amounted to two hundred and fixty-nine thoufand and fifteen : which was lefs than the Cenfus before, becaufe the Conful L. Poftumius had decreed in the full afsembly, that

A. R. 578. that all the allies of the Latine States should cause
 Ant. C. themselves to be enrolled in their own country, and
 174. prohibited their being included in the registers made
 at Rome, conformably to the edict of the Consul C.
 Claudius.

Liv. xlii. A great wind from the sea carried so prodigious a
 30. cloud of grasshoppers into Apulia, that all the land in
 that country was covered with them. C. Sicinius, one
 of the Prætors elect, was sent into Apulia to destroy
 that pest so fatal to the productions of the earth. With
 a great number of the country people whom he drew
 together to destroy those animals, he found it very dif-
 ficult, and employed much time in delivering the coun-
 try from them.

A. R. 580. C. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.
 Ant. C. P. ÆLIUS LIGUR.
 172.

x. i. The Ambassadors of the Carthaginians, who were
 Liv. then at Rome had great disputes in the Senate with
 Gulussa, the son of Masinissa. The first complained
 " that besides the territory on account of which the
 Senate had already sent commissioners into Africa, to
 examine upon the spot to whom it appertained, Mas-
 inissa, two years since, had again possessed himself of
 above seventy cities and forts in the dependance of the
 Carthaginians by force of arms. That such usurpa-
 tions were easy to a Prince, who had no regard to jus-
 tice and equity. That the Carthaginians however con-
 tinued silent and without acting, having their hands
 tied, to use the expression, by the clauses of the treaty,
 by which they were prohibited to pass their frontiers
 with an armed force. That they indeed might under-
 take to drive that Numidian Prince out of the lands
 he had seized, without the imputation of having made
 war out of their own territory; but that they were re-
 strained by another clause not equivocal, which ex-
 pressly prohibited them from making war upon the al-
 lies of the Roman People. That accordingly they
 would have still been patient, if that had been pos-
 sible.

sible. But that not being able any longer to bear the pride, avidity, and cruelty of Masinissa, they were come to implore the Romans to grant them one of these three things: either to vouchsafe to hear both parties equitably, to which they were equally allied; or to suffer the Carthaginians to oppose just and legal arms to the violence employed to crush them; or lastly, if favour had more influence with them than reason and justice, to declare once for all exactly, to what a degree they thought fit to gratify Masinissa with the possessions of others. That the Senate should at least be moderate in their liberality, and adhere to what it ordained: whereas the Numidian King observed no other rule in his usurpations than that dictated by his avidity and ambition. That if they obtained any of these three points, and had, since the peace granted them by Scipio, committed any fault that had drawn upon them the indignation of the Roman People, let themselves decree the punishment they deserved. That they chose rather to be slaves under masters, that would at least afford them security, than to retain a liberty continually subject to the unjust invasions of Masinissa. That lastly, it was more for their advantage to perish once for all, than to languish out a miserable life, always exposed to the cruelties of the most violent of tyrants." After having spoken thus, they prostrated themselves upon the earth with tears in their eyes, and by their dejection and sorrow excited as much indignation against the King, as compassion for themselves.

Gulussa was afterwards asked what he had to answer to the objections of the Carthaginians, unless he chose previously to acquaint the Senate with the reasons for his coming to Rome. That young Prince replied, " That it was not easy for him to answer in respect to affairs, concerning which his father had given him neither instructions, nor power; and that though he should have thought fit to charge him with his orders, it would have been difficult for him to reply, not knowing what brought the Carthaginians to Rome,

A.R. 580.
 Ant. C.
 172.

Liv. xlii. 24.

A. R. 580. Rome, and not being even assured that they intended
 Ant. C. to come thither. That his father had sent him to re-
 172. quest the Senate not to give credit to the accusations
 of a people, who were his enemies, as well as those of
 the Romans, and who only hated him for his constant
 and inviolable fidelity and attachment to the interests of
 the Roman People.

After the Senators had heard the discourses on both
 sides, and deliberated upon the demands of the Car-
 thaginians, they answered, “ That their intention was,
 that Gulusa should return immediately into Numidia,
 to tell his father to send Ambassadors directly to
 Rome, who might answer the complaints made against
 him to the Senate by those of Carthage. That out of
 regard to him they should, as they had hitherto, do
 every thing that should appear reasonable : but that
 they should grant nothing to favour contrary to jus-
 tice. That they desired that both sides might keep
 possession of what appertained to them in the country
 they disputed, and confine themselves within the an-
 tient limits without forming new ones. That the Ro-
 man People, after having overcome the Carthaginians,
 had not restored them their cities and countries with
 design to seize unjustly in time of peace, what they
 had not taken from them, as they might have done by
 right of war.” These are fine words, but we shall find
 them to no effect.

The Senate dismissed the Numidian Prince, and
 the Carthaginian Ambassadors with the usual presents,
 after having treated them with all the marks of amity
 and good-will that friends and allies could expect.

Liv. xlii. The Censor Fulvius Flaccus, who had taken away
 38. the tiles from the temple of Juno, died a very miser-
 able death. Of two sons which he had, he received
 advice that the one was dead, and the other taken ill
 of a very dangerous disease. He sunk under the grief
 and terror, which this sad news gave him. His domes-
 ticks found him dead in his chamber, where he had
 strangled himself. It was the common opinion that he
 had been distracted after his Censorship, and his death
 was

was considered as an effect of the wrath of Juno, and a punishment for the sacrilege he had committed for plundering her temple.

P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

A. R. 581.

C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Ant. C.

171.

Under these Consuls a deputation sent by a people of a new kind came from Spain to Rome. More than 3⁴ four thousand men, who said they were the sons of Roman soldiers and the women of that country, demanded, that some city might be assigned them, where they might settle. The Senate ordered them to go to the Prætor Canuleius, and give in their names, and impowered that magistrate to grant liberty to such of them as he should think fit, and to cause them to go to Carteia upon the coast of the ocean. The inhabitants of that city were permitted to remain in it, upon condition that they would form a colony there in conjunction with these new comers, and divide the lands with them that should be allotted for their subsistence. The privileges of Latium was given this colony, which was called " the colony of the freedmen."

Liv. xlii.

Almost at the same time arrived from Africa Gullussa son of King Masinissa, and Ambassadors from the Carthaginians. The Numidian Prince having been first introduced to the Senate, mentioned the aids, which his father had supplied for the war of Macedonia, and offered, by his order, again to supply the Roman People, out of gratitude for their favours, with all such as they should require. For the rest, " he exhorted the Senators not to suffer themselves to be surprized by the artifices of the Carthaginians. That they had resolved to fit out a considerable fleet, under pretence of aiding the Romans with it against the Macedonians. But when they should have once put it into a condition to act, it would be in their power to chuse their enemies and their allies."

Liv. ibid.

After these preliminaries, he no doubt proceeded to the matter in dispute between Masinissa and the

Cartha-

A. R. 581. Carthaginians. A chasm here in Livy prevents our
 Ant. C. knowing what passed on both sides, and what was de-
 171. termined by the Senate. It only appears, that this
 contest continued undecided during many years, till
 being again set on foot, it terminated in a bloody
 war, that, having began between the Carthaginians
 and Masinissa, insensibly engaged the Romans in the
 quarrel, which did not end but with the ruin of Car-
 thage.

To compleat collecting the loose and detached facts
 of our history, before I enter upon relating the war with
 Perseus, I am going to enumerate several circumstances,
 which will shew how much Rome began to degenerate
 from herself, when riches and the luxury of Greece and
 Asia were introduced there.

In the former times, the Roman magistrates sent
 into the provinces had acted with abundance of equity
 and moderation, and it very seldom happened that
 they abused their authority. But for some years,
 things had greatly changed, and complaints were
 brought to the Senatè from all sides against the cruelty,
 injustice, and malversations of the magistrates.

A. R. 579. L. Postumius, who was Consul in the 579th year of
 Ant. C. Rome, received orders from the Senate to go into
 173. Campania, to put a stop to the usurpation of Particu-
 Liv. xlii. 1. lars, who possessing lands bordering upon those of the
 Commonwealth, aggrandized themselves continually
 at the expence of the State, and continually extended
 their bounds. This magistrate was incensed against
 the people of Prænestè, for not having received any
 honours from the body of the city, or from any par-
 ticular, when he came there in a private capacity
 some time before, to offer a sacrifice in the temple of
 Fortune. To revenge this pretended injury, he wrote
 to their principal magistrate before he set out from
 Rome, and ordered him to come and meet him, to
 provide an house for him in the city, where he might
 lodge during his whole stay there, and to keep horses
 and other carriage-beasts in readiness for his use at his
 departure. This was the first Roman magistrate, that
 put

put the allies to expence ; and to spare them this sort of charge and service, the Commonwealth supplied its Generals with mules, tents, and all the other untensils of which they had occasion in the field. On their marches, they lodged at the houses of private persons, with whom they had entered into the ties of hospitality, and to whom they rendered the same offices in their turn at Rome. If it were necessary to dispatch Deputies suddenly upon any public affair, the cities on their route were obliged to furnish them with an horse ; and this was the only expence the allies were to be at. The resentment of Postumius, which was perhaps just, says Livy, but little becoming a magistrate, with the too modest and timorous silence of the Prænestini, was an example, that not being condemned, gave the Generals a kind of right to impose burthens upon the allies, which every day became more heavy.

Spain felt the evils occasioned by this impunity, Liv. xliii. but by a different kind of abuse. The Deputies of that province laid their complaints before the Senate, and prostrate upon the earth implored it, that having the honour to be the allies of the Roman People, it would not suffer them to be treated with more cruelty than even enemies. Amongst other grievances one related to corn. The States of the provinces were obliged to supply the Magistrates gratis with a certain quantity of corn for their own use, and that of their household ; and also to furnish a certain quantity as prescribed for the armies of the Roman People, for which they received money. The avarice of the Prætors, in the two impositions of corn, found a double occasion to oppress and plunder the allies, but in a quite different manner. Instead of receiving the corn for their use in kind, they received it in money, setting the value upon it themselves, which they rated very high : this corn was called *frumentum æstimatum*. On the contrary, for the other species of grain, called *frumentum emptum*, they set a very low price on that, and caused

A. R. 579. the whole quantity [to be delivered to the Roman
Ant. C. People.

173.

The Senate received the complaints of the Spaniards very favourably, appointed commissioners to enquire into them, and gave the complainants liberty to choose advocates to plead their cause out of the most illustrious of the Roman citizens. The most considerable both for their birth and merit voluntarily took upon them so laudable an office. One of the accused, after a long examination, repeated more than once, was acquitted; two others, who were conscious of being too criminal to hope the same fate, condemned themselves to voluntary banishment.

Livy tells us, that the Spaniards could have accused others: but their mouths were stopt, because those were powerful citizens; and the past was forgot. The Senate, to prevent the like disorders for the future, decreed, on granting the Spaniards their request, that the magistrates should receive the corn due to them for their domestick use in kind; or if they chose rather to have its value in money, it should be rated according to the current price in the markets; and that, in respect to corn bought for the public, it should also be paid for according to the current value.

The Senate received complaints from all sides against the Generals and Magistrates sent into the provinces. Cassius and Licinius had been Consuls in the 581st year of Rome.

A. R. 581. Cincibilus, King of a Gaulish nation beyond the
Ant. C. Alps, which is no otherwise distinguished by Livy,
171. sent his brother to Rome at the head of an embassy,
Liv. xliii. to accuse Cassius of having plundered some people of
5. the Alps, the allies of that Prince, of having carried
away a great number of them, and of having reduced
them into slavery. On another side, the Istrians and
other neighbouring nations represented, that the same
Consul Cassius had put their whole country to fire and
sword, and plundering every thing in his way, with-
out their being able to guess his reason for treating
them

them as enemies. The Senate replied to both, that they had not foreseen these hostilities ; and that, if they had been committed, they disapproved them. That it was not just to condemn a person of Consular dignity without hearing him : but that if, at his return from Macedonia, where he then served as legionary Tribune, they could convict him personally of the unjust actions laid to his charge, the Senate would not fail to give them satisfaction. They even sent Ambassadors to the Gaulish King and the other States, to let them know their disposition to do them justice.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

Licinius, Cassius's colleague, as if he had been sent, not to make war upon Perseus, but the Greeks in alliance with the Roman People, distressed the inhabitants of Bœotia, where he wintered, and in particular those of Coronea, in every manner. The latter complained of this to the Senate, who decreed that all who had been sold for slaves should be set at liberty.

Epit. l. 43.

It is easy to conceive, that the Prætors were not more regular in their conduct than their Consuls, whose examples authorized them, and seemed to secure them impunity. The Prætor Lucretius, who commanded the fleet during the Consulship of Licinius, had made the allies feel the sad effects of his cruelty and avarice. The Tribunes of the People incessantly declaimed against him with abundance of vehemence in all the assemblies. His friends demanded a delay, alledging that he was absent for the service of the Commonwealth. But at that time people were so very ignorant of what passed even in the neighbourhood of Rome, that the very man, whom his defenders said to be in Greece, was actually at an estate he had near Antium, and employing part of the money he had brought from Greece, in bringing the water of Loracina to that city : a work which cost an hundred and thirty thousand assès, (about two or three hundred pounds.) He also adorned the temple of Æsculapius with the paintings that were a part of his spoils.

Liv. xliii.
4.

A.R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

The city of Chalcis sent deputies against him to Rome. Their first hearing shewed the excessive injuries that city had suffered. Mictio, the principal deputy, (who was an antient and faithful ally of the Romans) and had the gout so as not to be able to walk, caused himself to be carried to the Senate in a chair: a strong proof of an indispensable necessity, as notwithstanding his condition he could not prevail to be dispensed with from this voyage, whither he did not suppose his presence absolutely requisite. He began by saying, that of all the parts of his body his disease left him only his tongue at liberty to deplore the calamities of his country. " He then repeated the services, both antient and recent, his State had done the Generals and armies of the Romans, and in the war which was actually carrying on against Perseus. He afterwards proceeded to the excesses of avarice and cruelty exercised by the Prætor Lucretius against the inhabitants of Chalcis; and lastly to those they then suffered from L. Hortensius, who had succeeded him: adding, that after all, were they to be treated with greater inhumanity, they were determined to suffer every thing, rather than join the King of Macedonia. That as to Lucretius and Hortensius, it would have been much more for the advantage of the people of Chalcis to have shut their gates against them, than to have received them into their city. That the inhabitants of the cities who had done so, had preserved their liberties and estates: whereas Lucretius, with horrid sacrilege, had plundered their temples, and had caused all the ornaments of them to be carried to Antium. That after having deprived the allies of the Roman People of their property, he had made slaves of their persons; and that if any thing had escaped his avarice, Hortensius, by treading in his steps, had entirely taken it from them. That in the winter as well as summer, he filled their houses with soldiers and seamen; so that those unhappy citizens had the grief to see continually in the midst of themselves, ..
their

their wives, and children, people void of shame, humanity, and faith.”

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

The Senate thought it incumbent on them to send for Lucretius, in order that he might hear all that was advanced against him, and object to it if he could. The reproaches made to his face, were still more strong than all that had been said in his absence, and he had two accusers much more powerful and formidable to oppose in the persons of two Tribunes of the People, who, not contented with inveighing against him in the full Senate, exclaimed against him before the People, and after having loaded him with reproaches, summoned him in form to appear at the sovereign tribunal of the People, to answer their accusations. As to the deputies of Chalcis, the Prætor Mænius was ordered to tell them, “ That the Senate knew they had advanced nothing but the truth, in speaking of the services they had done the Roman People in the present and former wars, and that they retained all the gratitude they ought for them. As to the injuries they had received from C. Lucretius, and at present from L. Hortensius, they could not suppose that the Senate approved them, if they reflected in the least that the Roman People had declared war against Perseus, and before against Philip his father, to deliver the Greeks from the tyranny of those Princes, and undoubtedly not with design to draw upon them those oppressions from the Romans themselves. That the Senate would write to L. Hortensius, to signify that they disapproved his conduct, he was accused of in respect to the people of Chalcis; to order him to find out the free persons who had been made slaves, and to restore their liberty as soon as possible; and to prohibit him from quartering any soldier or officer of the fleet upon them, except Captains of vessels.” Such was the substance of the letters wrote by the Senate to Hortensius. The usual presents were made to the deputies, and carriages and other conveniences were supplied Mictio, in order to accommodate him to Brindisi.

A. R. 581. When the day for the appearance of C. Lucretius
 Aut. C. arrived, the Tribunes accused him before the People,
 171. and condemned him in a fine of a million of asses,
 (about two thousand five hundred pounds.) All the
 Tribes unanimously sentenced him to pay that sum.

What a difference is there between the magistrates, whose injustice, rapine, and oppressions we have just related, and the great men, whose wisdom, equity, and disinterestedness did so much honour to the Roman People, and contributed more to their conquests than the force of their arms, and the valour of their troops! We have seen the two Scipios, who perished in Spain, as much and more lamented by the natives than by the Romans themselves. Their successor, who was the son of the one, and the nephew of the other, was considered by the same people, as a man come from heaven to constitute the happiness of mankind. The incampments of armies, winter-quarters, and the residence of Generals in the cities, seemed so far from being a burthen to the allies, that the longer they stayed with them, the happier they thought themselves: with so much moderation, benevolence, * and humanity did the Romans then behave! To several Generals, and especially the great Scipio, might be applied what Cicero says of Pompey: that † under him the allies were not only exempted from any expence on the account of the soldiers, but that it was not allowed even when they desired it. For, adds the same orator, our ancestors were of opinion, that the winter-quarters passed under the roofs of the allies, should be a retreat against the inclemencies of the season, and not an occasion of avarice.

* Hunc audiebant antea, nunc præsentem vident, tanta temperantia, tanta mansuetudine, tanta humanitate, ut ii beatissimi esse videntur, apud quos ille diutissimè commoratur. Cic. de Leg. Man. n. 13.

† Non modò, ut sumptum faciat in militem, nemini vis affertur: sed ne cupienti quidem cuiquam permittitur. Hiemis enim, non avaritiæ, perflugium majores nostri in sociorum atque amicorum tectis esse voluerunt. Ibid. 39.

Such were the maxims in the happy times of the Commonwealth : but they have began to lose ground very much during some years ; and in the sequel we shall see them entirely disappear. And indeed * the different examples of malversation which we have enumerated, shew, that commanders were sent with authority into the provinces, whose entrance into the countries and cities of the allies, scarce differed from an irruption of enemies, and was attended with no less depredations.

It is remarkable, that this change of manners and government, these oppressions of States scarce heard of hitherto, and which begin for some time to become very common, this unlimited licence of enriching themselves by the spoils of the Gods and men ; are all, as we have already observed, of the same date with the introduction of luxury, and are undoubtedly the effects of it. These † disorders increase gradually, and at first insensibly. Regulations were opposed to them ; and some examples, though faintly, made from time to time. The evil however gains ground, and infects the whole People. The face of the State then changes, and the government, from just and wise as it was, becomes tyrannical and insupportable. This is what the sequel of our history will evince.

* Eiusmodi in provinciam homines cum imperio mittimus, ut ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum non multum ab hostili impugnatione differant. Ibid. 13.

† Hæc primò paulatim crescere, interdum vindicari. Post, ubi contagio, quasi pestilentia, invasit, civitas immutata, imperium, ex justissimo atque optumo, crudele intolerandumque factum. SALLUST. Bell. Catil.



T H E

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ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

EIGHTH VOLUME of the First Edition.

TWO Volumes of the Roman History have already appeared since the death of Mr. Rollin. However This, of which I am the Editor, is the first that can properly be called Posthumous. The Sixth and Seventh were printed, whilst the Author was alive, and were prevented from appearing only for Mr. D'Anville's maps, whose regard for the accuracy of his works makes him with reason take the necessary time for compleating them in such a manner, as may deserve the opinion of the Public.

The eighth volume * is not in the same case with those that preceded it. Mr. Rollin put the first draught of it, according to his custom, into my hands, on setting out for the country in July 1741, after his first illness: and he never saw it from that time. Accordingly he did not give this, nor many large parts, which he had prepared for the ninth volume, the last hand. The revisal, in which he was very attentive, is wanting to this part of his work. And instead of my offering my observations to him as heretofore, always with submission to his better judgment, I was obliged to take upon me to decide in respect to the additions and alterations, which seemed necessary.

* Including Books xxv, xxvi, xxvii.

It was not without great repugnance that I took this liberty, though I did not assume it of myself, and in doing so only obeyed his orders. The profound veneration, which I always had for him from my earliest youth, would have induced me to respect every syllable of his manuscript. But every one who composes, perfectly knows the difference between the first draught from an author's pen, and the same work made fit for the press. It was therefore necessary, that a timidity, however well-founded, should give place to the good of the work, and the service of the publick, which Mr. Rollin directed me to prefer to every other consideration; and I conceived, that his own maxims and example would condemn me, if, out of an excess of respect for his memory, I should leave these last fruits of his labour in a condition he would not have left them himself; and if I spared my weak endeavours to bring them as near as possible to the degree of perfection they would have had, if he had lived.

I have at least taken care to adapt myself as much as possible to his view, and upon every doubt that arose, to consult the idea which I had of his taste and manner of thinking: and I have made no addition, nor alteration, which I am not assured my Master himself would have approved upon my representation.

After all, my part in this volume is very inconsiderable: the whole matter, and every thing essential is the same Author's. I therefore venture to assure the publick, that they will still find Mr. Rollin here; that is, not only the easiness, elegance, and elevation of his stile, but his generous and exalted sentiments, his zeal for every thing that regards the good of human society, his love of virtue, his reverence for the Divine Providence; in a word, a profane subject in a manner sanctified by the spirit of Religion, with which it every where abounds.

How gladly should I expatiate in the praise of this great man, whom it was my good fortune to have for my master, benefactor, and father! But I have
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something to present the Reader, which is much better than any thing that could come from my own hand. M. de Boze, who paid Mr. Rollin the tribute of praise, customary in the Academy of Belles Lettres, with all the amity of a brother-fellow, all the frankness of a worthy man, and all the ability of an excellent painter, has been pleased to put so valuable a piece into my hands, in order to its being printed in the front of this volume. A circumstance happy for me, and which no doubt will be highly agreeable to the publick, has forced him to anticipate the time, when this Elogium was to appear in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres. Respect for Mr. Rollin, and the prejudice so well founded in favour of every thing Mr. de Boze treats, had made some persons design to commit one of those unavoidable piracies upon him, which only the most excellent orators are apt to experience. His discourse was taken down as he pronounced it in the Assembly itself, and has been printed in the twelfth volume of a collection intitled, *Amusemens du Cœur & de l'Esprit*, with interpolations, mistaken facts, and defects of stile, that strangely disfigure it. And it is to this I now have the consolation of giving, and the publick the satisfaction of reading, the Elogium of Mr. Rollin made by the illustrious Secretary of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

Mr. de Boze has confined himself to what suited the audience, before which he spoke, and considered the person, whose praise was his subject, only in respect to his genius, talents, and literature. And indeed to describe the heart of Mr. Rollin is superfluous, after the picture of it in his works. He has there drawn himself with a simplicity and force, which no other hand can equal. Every body knows, that the sentiments of a noble soul, expressed in every stroke of his pen, are what have acquired him most admirers both in France and amongst Strangers, and that the man in him charms more than the Writer. I shall therefore not undertake to applaud here his beneficent disposition,

sition, his candor, his generosity, his charitable acts, and his tender and sincere piety. Let me only observe for the honour of Religion, and the confusion of those, who consider devotion as the attribute of little minds, that in him piety was as simple as learned; and that he perfectly verified the celebrated saying, that Religion is admired in great minds for the Little things, and in common minds for the Great things, it makes them do.

How happy should I be, could I attain the two characters of this admirable man's spirit; and, as I am appointed by his orders, and in a manner by those of Providence, to continue his work, if I could preserve at least a shadow of his talents, and especially of the sentiments of Religion, which were the soul of them! I can at least solemnly aver, that in the career upon which I am entering, I shall never lose sight of so excellent a model; and that I propose to myself as near as possible to pursue his taste and plan; that is, to render the History useful with respect to morals, and always to make it subservient to virtue, and the glory of Religion.

May it please Heaven, that I may acquit myself worthily of this design, and, after the example of my ever dear and venerable Master, in labouring for the improvement of Youth, that I may labour also for my own sanctification.

E L O G I U M

O F

Mr. R O L L I N,

By Mr. de Boze, perpetual Secretary of the
Academy of Inscriptions, and Belles Lettres.

Read in the publick Assembly of that Academy,
Nov. 14, 1741.

CHARLES ROLLIN, second son of Peter Rollin, a Master-cutler of Paris, was born there on the 30th of January 1661, and was intended, as well as his elder brother, for his father's business, who had made both take up their freedoms in their earliest youth.

A Benedictine, of the order called Whitemantles, whom he had often heard say, or served at, mass, because their church was in his neighbourhood, was the first who observed in him a great capacity for letters. He knew his mother, who in her way was a woman of merit: he spoke to her, and told her that it was absolutely necessary to make him a Student. Her own opinion also suggested something of the same kind to her; but reasons stronger in appearance always opposed it. She was become a widow, without any resource on the side of fortune but carrying on her husband's trade. Her children were the only support she had, and she was not in a condition to be at expences to give any of them a different education.

The good Monk, far from desisting, continued his instances; and the principal obstacle having been removed by obtaining a scholarship in the College of the XVIII, the fate of young Rollin was decided in
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consequence, and from thenceforth he appeared in a quite different light, even in the eyes of his mother.

She began by perceiving more wit and delicacy in his manner of address and obedience. She soon after was sensible of the progress he made, which was talked of every where, and not without a kind of astonishment: and what undoubtedly was no less grateful to her, was to see the parents of his fellow-students of the most distinguished birth and rank, send or come themselves to desire, that she would permit her son to pass holidays with them, and be the companion of their pleasures as well as of their studies.

At the head of these illustrious parents was the Minister Mr. le Peletier, whose two eldest sons had found a formidable competitor in this new-comer. Their father, who perfectly knew the advantages of emulation, was solicitous to increase it. When the young scholar was Imperator, which frequently happened, he sent him the same present as he did to his sons, and the latter loved him though their rival: they carried him home with them in their coach; they set him down at his mother's when he had business there, and waited for him: and one day observing that he took the first place without ceremony, she was going to reprimand him sharply for want of good manners: but the Præceptor humbly answered, that Mr. Peletier had given orders, that they should always place themselves in the coach according to their rank in the class.

This brief account of Mr. Rollin's progress in his studies will suffice, and we the more willingly suppress other particulars of it, as with some little differences, such details are but too often introduced into the Historical Elogies of the members of the Academy it is deprived of by death. But we cannot dispence with relating however, that when he studied Rhetorick in the College of Pleſſis under the celebrated Mr. Herſan, who was studious to excite the ardor of his pupils by honourable Epithets, that Professor said publickly, that he did not know by what term

term to distinguish young Rollin sufficiently, and that he was sometimes tempted to denominate him *DIVINE*. He referred almost all those who asked him for compositions in verse or prose to his disciple: "Apply to him," said he; "he will do it much better than I."

Some time after, a Minister, to whom nothing could be refused, Mr. Louvois, engaged M. Herfan to quit the College of Plessis, to be with the Abbot de Louvois his son, of whose education he took great care, and who gave great hopes of his proficiency. Mr. Rollin was then only in his twenty third year, and so early was considered as worthy to succeed Mr. Herfan. He was the only one of a different opinion, and it was not without doing violence to him, that it was resolved he should be second professor, as Mr. Herfan had been before he was advanced to the chair of Professor of Rhetorick, which he also had some years after him: and what compleated the entire conformity between them, was that Mr. Herfan who had the survivorship of a chair of eloquence in the College Royal, resigned that also with the King's permission in favour of Mr. Rollin.

The necessity of composing tragedies for the distribution of prizes at the end of every year, was the only thing that gave Mr. Rollin some difficulty. However sensible he was in other respects to the beauties of the antient dramattick poets, he was convinced, that such representations did not suit Colleges, where they only made the masters and scholars lose precious time: and it was remembered on this occasion, that Mr. le Pelletier having been desirous, that some should be placed at his house by his sons and the young persons he had associated with them in their studies, Mr. Rollin was the only one, who could never be prevailed upon to act any part. A certain fund of ingenuous modesty, that attended him in every part of his character, prevented him from taking upon him only for an instant any strange personage.

Excepting almost only this circumstance, no professor exercised his functions in a more shining manner. He often made Latin orations, in which he celebrated the events of the times; as the first victories of the Dauphin, the taking of Philipsburgh, and the following campaigns. But the Greek language always seemed to him to deserve the preference. It had began to be neglected in the Schools of the University: he revived the study, and was the true restorer of it. He very much regretted, that the custom of disputing in Greek had been discontinued. Mr. Boivin jun. had set the last example of it: and not having sufficient authority to re-establish it, he introduced another still more useful, that of publick Exercises upon the antient Greek and Latin Authors. He chose the youngest sons of Mr. le Pelletier to do the first of these exercises; and the applauses they received, excited an emulation in the other Colleges, which still subsists. Mr. Rollin usually augmented the lustre of them by pieces of poetry, which he addressed, sometimes to those who performed these exercises, sometimes to their parents; and many of these pieces are printed. Mr. le Pelletier carefully preserved the original of that, which Mr. Rollin inscribed to him upon the exercise of his sons. He composed three upon those of the Abbot de Louvois: and the third is remarkable for explaining clearly and with inimitable graces the print of the famous Theses, which the Marquess of Louvois his father made him dedicate to the King on his return from taking Mons. With these talents were united an indefatigable zeal, and such a discernment of different geniusses, that he instantly saw what they were capable of, and the method to be used in their instruction. His capacity in checking impetuosity, and exalting courage, in sparing delicacy, and subduing indolence, enabled him to form abundance of learned men and excellent Professors, and to give the Clergy, Bench, and even profession of arms, persons of great merit. The Premier President M. Portail used sometimes to tell him

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by way of jest, that he had made him labour too hard : and Mr. Rollin seriously replied ; “ It becomes you indeed to complain of that, Sir ! It is that application to business, which distinguished you in the office of Attorney General, and raised you to that of Premier President : you are indebted to me for your fortune.”

After having been eight or ten years successively Professor in the College of Plessis ; Mr. Rollin quitted it, to devote himself entirely to the study of History, retaining of his publick functions only the chair of eloquence in the Royal College, which he held however only with the title of Survivorship, without any advantage : but he had an estate of about 6 or 700 livres a year (about 35l. sterling) and believed himself extremely rich.

The University, that perceived their loss in the retreat of Mr. Rollin, soon recalled him. He was chosen Rector or Principal at the end of 1694, and was continued so two years, which was then a great distinction. In this quality he twice pronounced the panegyrick upon the King in the schools of the Sorbonne, which the city had lately founded. Never were Audiences more numerous and polite. These two orations were considered as master-pieces ; and especially the last, the subject of which was the establishment of the Invalids. And however, as if that subject had not sufficed the fertility of Mr. Rollin's genius, the same day he caused an ode upon the other ornaments of Paris to be distributed in the assembly. The description of its gates alone as triumphal arches formed in this poem a new panegyrick still more worthy of the Hero.

What we find in the Memoirs of Mr. Amelot de la Houffaye, in the article of precedencies, is to be dated at this time. He says there, “ that at a publick disputation in Civil Law, the Principal Charles Rollin would never suffer the Archbishop of Sens (Fortin de la Hoguette) “ to take place of him.” It is not necessary to add, that at all other times, and on

every other occasion, he would never have disputed place with any one.

The end of Mr. Rollin's Rectorship did not entirely restore his liberty. The Cardinal de Noailles engaged him to take upon him the direction of his nephews studies, who were at the College of Laon; and he applied himself to this with pleasure, when Mr. Vittement, to whom the education of the children of France was given, earnestly desired to resign his Coadjutorship in the office of Principal of the College of Beauvais to Mr. Rollin. The latter made great difficulty to accept of it; and it appears from some of the printed letters of the Abbé Duguet, that it was he who determined him to do so.

The College of Beauvais, now so flourishing, was then a kind of desert, in which there were very few scholars, and no discipline: and what seemed to make it impossible ever to re-establish order and application in it, was its being united with another college of the same nature. We shall not say in what manner Mr. Rollin succeeded in placing it in honour, and to people it almost beyond what it could contain. We may imagine justly, that all the talents were necessary which himself requires in a good Principal, in his Treatise upon Study. It is common enough for great masters to prescribe the true duties of an office, only by repeating, without thinking of it, the manner in which themselves have discharged them.

And accordingly nothing equalled the confidence people had in him. A rich man of the country, who knew him only by reputation, brought his son to him to be admitted to board as a scholar in the college of Beauvais, not believing That would admit of any difficulty. Mr. Rollin excused himself from receiving him, because there was not an inch of room to spare: and to convince him of that, he carried him through all the apartments. The father in despair did not express himself by vain exclamations. "I am come," said he, "expressly to Paris; I shall set out to-morrow; I shall send you my son with a bed. I have
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“ none but him : you may lodge him in the court-yard, or in the cellar if you please : but he shall be in your college, and from this moment I shall give myself no farther pain about it.” He did as he said. Mr. Rollin was reduced to admit the young man, and to lodge him in his own closet, till he could provide an usual place for him.

In 1712, he quitted the office of Principal of Beauvais to resume the first project of his studies more at leisure. He began by working upon Quintilian, upon whom he set a great value, and of whom he saw with pain too little use made. He retrenched all from him, that he judged superfluous for forming orators, or improving the manners : he explained his method and views in an elegant Preface : he added Summaries sufficiently copious before the chapters : he accompanied the text with brief but curious notes ; and the edition appeared in two volumes in 12mo. the beginning of 1715.

The University, to which he was also so dear and so useful, in 1719 appointed him to speak a solemn oration, by way of thanks, for the Free Instruction which the King had lately instituted. The subject was great, and the sublimity and pomp of expressions not unequal to it : he spoke in it as a consummate Master of the order, choice, and taste of studies ; and what he said, made it ardently desired, that he would one day give the world a compleat treatise upon that subject.

The university also judging, that their antient statutes stood in need of some alterations in that respect, and that no one was more capable of drawing them up than Mr. Rollin, elected him Principal again in 1720. But particular circumstances shortened this second Principalship so much, that the statutes were no longer thought of, and he had time to compose his treatise upon the manner of studying and teaching the Belles Lettres. He divided it into four volumes, the first two of which he published in 1726, and the two last in 1728.

Encouraged by the success of that work, he undertook another of much greater extent, and which however was but a necessary sequel of the former: this was the Antient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Macedonians and Grecians. He was at first in hopes of bringing it within the compass of six or seven volumes; but it led him on insensibly to the thirteenth.

They all appeared between the year 1730 and 1738; and during the publication of the two last volumes Mr. Rollin also published the first volume of the Roman History, of which five have already appeared, and the sixth and seventh are printed off, and wait only for the maps to be inserted in them. The eighth, and part of the ninth, are done, and come down as low as after the war with the Cimbri, which preceded the battle of Actium, where Mr. Rollin's design ended, only about seventy years. His illustrious pupils, whom he began to call his masters, cannot leave his work imperfect in any respect.

The publick will perhaps demand also of them the Latin orations of Mr. Rollin, because none of them are printed; and probably there is not one of them that does not deserve it. If it were incumbent upon us to point out, in the order of time, all those which are come to our knowledge, or of which the remembrance has been more happily preserved, there is one amongst the rest which we should not have forgot; this is that, which he pronounced in 1701, two years after his entrance into the College of Beauvais, upon the accession of Philip V. to the Crown of Spain. A little more care has been taken of his poems. They were inserted in 1727 in a select miscellany; and besides those we have already mentioned, there are a great number of equal spirit and beauty. If we were to decide the preference to any of them, his Latin translation of Mr. Boileau's ode upon the taking of Namur would not want voices.

There are also many Epigrams, which have almost all of them their singularity. For instance, it would
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be difficult to find any thing, that seems so well to prove the quality of PROPHETS, commonly enough ascribed to poets, than that which he sent in 1695, the first year of his Principalship, to the grandson of Mr. Le Peletier, who was only in his sixth year. He sent him on Candlemas day, in the name of the University, such a wax-candle as it is the custom to present the Premier Presidents ; and told him in writing, that he should accustom himself to receiving that honour, that he should especially take care to make himself worthy of it, because that high office was a place which Themis herself assuredly allotted him, after she should have conferred it upon his Father.

*Te manet hæc sedes : summum Themis ipsa Tribunal
Vera cano, Patri destinat, inde tibi.*

Both were then very far from it ; however, the father was Premier President twelve years after, and the son is so now. In another Epigram Mr. Rollin makes a most ingenious allusion to his first business. He sends a knife for a new-year's gift to one of his friends, and tells him, that if this present seems to come rather from Vulcan than the Muses, he ought not to wonder at it ; because it was from the cave of the Cyclops that he first set out towards Parnassus.

Two other pieces of Mr. Rollin have been printed separately : *Hendecasyllabæ*, addressed in 1691 to Father Jouvençy, upon his having lately published at Paris, on the taking of Montmelian, in the name of one of his scholars, the same copy of verses, which he had published before at Caen in his own name on the taking of Maestrich in 1673. The second is *Santolus Pœnitens*, that made a great noise when it appeared ; the French translation of which, ascribed to Mr. Racine, was afterwards found to have been done by Mr. Boivin junior. Santeuil's Epitaph engraved in the Cloister of Saint Victor, is also Mr. Rollin's : and it is certain, that if his modesty had permitted him to esteem his Latin works as much as they deserved, that collection would very agreeably have concluded the new

edition of his treatise upon studies and of his Antient History.

We have said nothing of the success his works have had, because their fame is still the subject every where, as well in foreign countries as in France. The Duke of Cumberland and the Princesses his sisters had always the first copies from the press; they being desirous to read them as soon as possible, and who could give the best account of them, The Prince said, “ I know not how it is in Mr. Rollin; reflections every where else seem tedious, and I turn them over with neglect; they charm me in his book, and I do not lose a single word of them.”

The Queen their mother, a little before her death, intended to correspond with him by letters, and had caused the most obliging things in the world to be said to him on that head. The letters of the Prince Royal, now King of Prussia, highly graced this tribute of esteem. But when he had the goodness to notify his accession to the throne to him, amongst other learned men of the first rank, Mr. Rollin observed to him, that for the future he should have a due regard to his high occupations; and that having no longer any counsels to take but of his own glory, he would no longer have the honour to write to him.

The example of Princes is of great force. A poet famous for his works, and still more by his disgraces, the celebrated Rousseau, was also desirous of a correspondence with Mr. Rollin. He wrote him several letters: and inscribed Epistles in verse to him. Mr. Rollin did not think he ought to decline a commerce, in which he was in hopes of introducing reflexions of Christianity and Piety with success. Happy beginnings emboldened him to send the poet part of the Abbé Duguet's works, and the poet in return sent him his poems of the Amsterdam Edition, but without the supplement, at which he was afraid the severe morality of Mr. Rollin might take offence. At length he came himself to Paris as much as possible *incognito*. He there saw Mr. Rollin almost every day,
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and would not set out on his return without reading his will to him. In it he had disowned in the strongest terms those immoral couplets, which were the first occasion of his misfortunes, and persisted in ascribing them to the person he had at first charged with being their author. Mr. Rollin took him up short in this place: he urged with warmth, that the evidence of his own conscience sufficed to acquit him to himself; but that having no equivalent proof for charging any person whatsoever by name, he would at least render himself guilty in effect of a rash judgment, and perhaps of an horrid calumny. The poet had nothing to reply; and Mr. Rollin was extremely pleased with having made him strike out that article.

The King had nominated him a Fellow of this Academy on its re-establishment in 1701, and as he had not had time to render the College of Beauvais famous, that was little frequented before him, he did not foresee, that when it should be so, he would find himself engrossed there by so many different cares, that he could no longer discharge the functions of a Member of the Academy at pleasure. As soon as he perceived this, he demanded to be superannuated; which was granted him with all the distinction he deserved; and he was, however, no less a lover of our exercises. He came hither as often as possible, to the publick assemblies especially; not only, said he, because more things were read in it, from which he might reap advantage, but also because it was a more express homage on his side. When he undertook his Antient History, he related the plan of it to the Academy; he asked its permission to make a free use of all that might be for his purpose in our printed memoirs, and to have recourse to those not yet in the press. At the same time he asked the Chancellor to appoint him a Censor of the academy, and that member happened to be one of his former pupils. And lastly, it was not till after we had received a copy of each volume of his work, that the publick knew it was finished: and when he could not present it in person, he caused the

the greatest excuses to be made. The fifth Volume of his Roman History, which has lately appeared, was brought me in that manner for the Academy only three or four days before his death.

So many volumes published so soon after each other, fully demonstrated with what facility Mr. Rollin composed. Nobody doubted it: it was well known, that he was by nature extremely laborious, and that his zeal for the public good was the strongest of motives with him. But during a very long time he had wrote only in Latin, which seemed so much his natural language, that it was almost doubted whether he had any other; and he was above sixty years old when he began to write in French. The elegance and purity of his stile were therefore new and unexpected objects: he seemed to have acquired them in an instant only from the desire of being more useful. The Academie Françoise itself has frequently testified this. But he thought so modestly of himself, that he always wondered he had ever become an author; and far from having taken any premium for his works, of which the prodigious vent would have made the fortune of any other person, his sole concern was, on giving them the Bookseller, how he should make him amends, if they had not a sufficient run.

This manner of thinking extended to every thing that had any relation to him. Neat about his person, more from habit and reason than from the least pains, he had the same furniture at his death, that he had caused to be made when he entered the college of Pleffis as Professor in 1683; and when retired into the remotest part of Paris, he lived in so small an house, that most of the strangers, whom his reputation drew thither, would willingly have wrote on his door, as on that of Erasmus, "Behold a little house, that contains a great man." His piety was warm, tender and sincere: all that it becomes us to say of it, is, that nothing seemed little to him in Religion, and nothing great out of it.

He died the 14th of September 1741, at the age of fourscore years, seven months, and some days.

T H E R O M A N H I S T O R Y.

B O O K T H E T W E N T Y - F I F T H.

THIS book contains the history of Perseus King of Macedonia, from the 573d year of Rome, in which he ascended the throne, to the 585th, when he was led in triumph by Paulus Æmilius.

S E C T. I.

Design formed by Philip to transplant the Bastarnæ into the country of the Dardanians, bordering upon Macedonia. Ambassadors from Perseus to the Romans. The latter confirm the treaty made with Philip his father. Good beginning, and virtuous qualities of Perseus. Ambassadors from the Dardanians to Rome concerning the Bastarnæ. Ambassadors from Perseus to Carthage. Report of the Roman Ambassadors at their return from Macedonia. Eumenes comes to Rome to exhort the Senate to the war with Perseus. That Prince's Ambassadors ill received. That Prince suborns murderers to kill Eumenes. The Senate, after having declared the crimes of Perseus, prepare for the war, and cause it to be declared against him by Ambassadors. Gentius becomes suspected by the Romans. Disposition of the kingdoms and free states, in respect to the Romans and Perseus in the war of Macedonia. War declared in form against

against Perseus. The levies are made with extraordinary application. Dispute concerning the Centurions. Speech of an old Centurion to the People. Perseus's Ambassadors referred to the Consul, who is soon to repair to Macedonia. Ambassadors from the Romans to their allies. Interview of Perseus and the Roman Ambassadors. Truce granted Perseus, in order to his sending new Ambassadors to Rome. Commotions in Bœotia. Almost the whole province declares for the Romans. Succours supplied by the Achaian league. The Rhodians fit out a considerable fleet to join the Romans. Embassies of Perseus to Rhodes. Stratagem of the Deputies censured by the antient Senators. The Ambassadors of Perseus receive orders to quit Rome and Italy.

IN the last section I stopt at the death of Philip, whom his son Perseus succeeded in the kingdom of Macedonia. I afterwards, under different heads, united all the various events, that occurred, during the space of eleven years, with the reign of Perseus, without any relation to it, to avoid being obliged frequently to interrupt the chain of our history, and for the sake of relating it all together in its order, which will render it more clear and agreeable.

A. R. 573.
Ant. C.
179.

Q. FULVIUS.
L. MANLIUS.

Liv. xl. 57.
Oros. iv.
20.

Philip's death happened very opportunely for deferring the war menaced by the Romans, and for giving them time to prepare for it. That Prince had formed a strange design, and had began to put it in execution: this was to bring from the country of the Bastarnæ, a nation either of the Gauls or Germans by origin, transplanted from near the mouths of the Boristhenes, a considerable number of troops both of infantry and cavalry. After they had passed the Danube, he was to settle them in the country of the Dardanians, whom he determined entirely to extirpate; because as they were very near neighbours to Macedo-

nia,

nia, they did not fail to make irruptions into it, whenever favourable occasions offered. The Bastarnæ, leaving their wives and children in this new settlement, were to go to Italy to enrich themselves with the great spoils they were in hopes of making there. Whatever the success might be, Philip expected great advantages from it. If it should happen, that the Bastarnæ were overcome by the Romans, he should easily console himself for their defeat, by being delivered by their means from the dangerous neighbourhood of the Dardanians: and if their irruption into Italy succeeded, whilst the Romans were employed in repelling these new enemies, he should have time to recover all he had lost in Greece. The Bastarnæ had already began their march, and were considerably advanced in it, when they received advice of Philip's death. This news, and various accidents, which befel them, suspended the execution of their design: and many of them entirely abandoned it, and returned home into their country.

A. R. 573.
Ant. C.
179.

Perseus, with the view of establishing himself better upon the throne, sent Ambassadors to the Romans to demand, that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, and that the Senate should acknowledge him King. He only fought to gain time.

Liv. xl. 53.

M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

A. R. 574.
Ant. C.
178.

A. MANLIUS VULSO.

It was under these Consuls that Perseus's Ambassadors arrived at Rome. The Romans did not affect that Prince. They distrusted him, and did not doubt but upon the first favourable occasion, and when he was sufficiently strong, that he would proceed to the rupture, for which his father had made preparations during so many years, though he had industriously concealed his design. However, to avoid the reproach of having sought occasion of a

A. R. 574. breach during peace, they granted him all he de-
Ant. C. 178. manded.

Perseus believing his power firmly established by the renewal of the treaty, applied himself solely in conciliating friends amongst the Greeks. With this view, he recalled into Macedonia all those who had quitted it, either to avoid paying their debts, or had been banished by sentence of the judges. He caused the edicts to this effect to be fixed up in the several cities of Greece, by which they were promised not only impunity, but the restitution of their estates, with the profits of them from the time each had withdrawn. He also remitted to all those who were actually in his dominions all that they were indebted to the revenue, and he set all such at liberty as were confined in the prisons for affairs of State. By this indulgence, he gained the confidence of infinite numbers, acquired the affection of all the Greeks, and filled them with the most grateful hopes. Besides which, his whole conduct, and all his attributes, seemed to denote him a Prince worthy of reigning. His stature was advantageous, his physiognomy noble and engaging; and as he was in the vigour of life, he was capable of sustaining both the fatigues of war, and the weight of application and government. With all this he did not abandon himself to those excesses of debauchery and licentiousness, by which his father had so often dishonoured himself. By these good appearances in the beginning of his reign, this Prince gave hopes, to which it were to be wished the end of it had answered.

CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HISPALUS.

Q. PETILIUS SPURINUS.

A. R. 576.
Ant. C. 176.

Polyb. Part of the Bastarnæ, of whom we have spoken be-
Legat. 62. fore, had pursued their route, and were actually at war with the Dardanians. The latter sent Ambassadors to Rome, to inform the Senate, " That their province was over-run by swarms of Barbarians of gi-
gantick

gantick stature and extraordinary valour, with whom Perseus had made a treaty of alliance. That they apprehended that Prince more than the Bastarnæ. That they were come to implore the aid of the Commonwealth against such enemies." The Senate sent Deputies into the country, with A. Postumius at the head of them, to enquire into the foundation of these complaints.

P. MUCIUS.

A. R. 577.
Ant. C.
176.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS II.

These Deputies having found the affair, as the Dardanians had related it, made their report accordingly to the Senate. Perseus excused himself by his Ambassadors, and affirmed, that it was not he, who had called in those Barbarians, and that he had not had any share in their enterprize. The Senate, without entering any farther into the matter, contented themselves with ordering him to be told, that he should take care inviolably to observe the conditions of the treaty made with the Romans. The Bastarnæ, after having had some first advantages, were at length obliged, at least the greatest part of them, to return into their own country. It is said, that having found the Danube froze over, in their attempt to pass it, the ice gave way, and almost all of them were swallowed up by the river. This fact, which has no other authority but that of Orosius, perhaps requires a better.

Oros. iv.
20.

SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

A. R. 578.
Ant. C.
174.

Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

The Ambassadors sent by the Romans into Africa, after having conferred with King Masinissa, and gone from his Court to Carthage, returned to Rome. They had been much better informed by that Prince of what passed at Carthage, than by the Carthaginians themselves. However, notwithstanding all the disguise with

Liv. xli.
22.

A. R. 578.
Ant. C.
174. with which they had been treated, they had discovered with certainty, that Ambassadors from Perseus had been there, and that the Senate of Carthage had given them audience in the night in the temple of Æsculapius. Masinissa had besides assured them, that the Carthaginians, on their part had sent some to Macedonia, and the Carthaginians but faintly denied it. It was judged proper to send Deputies into Macedonia, to have a watchful eye over the King's conduct.

A. R. 579.
Ant. C.
173.

L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Liv. xlii.
2.

These Ambassadors on their return reported, that they could not have access to the King, who had always kept at a distance, under false pretexts either of indisposition or absence. That for the rest it plainly appeared to them, that every thing was preparing for war, and that it ought to be expected every day. Accordingly, dispositions were made for it at Rome, which began by religious ceremonies, that amongst the Romans, always preceded declarations of war; that is, by expiation of prodigies, and different sacrifices offered to the Gods.

A. R. 580.
Ant. C.
172.

C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
P. ÆLIUS LIGUR.

Liv. xlii.
32, 13.

Under these Consuls, who were both Plebeians, Eumenes King of Pergamus came to Rome. He was received with all possible marks of distinction. He declared, "that besides his desire to come to Rome to pay his homage to the Gods and men, to whom he owed a powerful and glorious establishment that left him nothing to wish, he had expressly undertaken this voyage to apprise the Senate, to be upon their guard against the enterprizes of Perseus. That that Prince had inherited his father Philip's hatred for the Romans, as well as his crown; and that he neglected no preparations for a war, which was in a manner descended to him by right of inheritance.

That

That the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed, supplied him with numerous troops in very good condition: that he had a rich and powerful kingdom: that himself was in the flower of life, full of ardor for military expeditions, to which he had been enured in the fight, and under the conduct of his father, and in which he had been much exercised since by various expeditions against his neighbours. That he was highly considered in the cities of Greece and Asia, without its being easy to say by what kind of desert he had acquired such credit, except it was by his enmity for the Romans. That the most powerful Kings sought his alliance. That he had espoused the daughter of Seleucus, and given Prusias his sister in marriage. That he had known how to attach the Bœotians, a very warlike people, whom his father could never bring over to his interest; and that but for the opposition of some individuals well affected to the Romans, he would actually have re-established commerce with the Achaian league. That it was to Perseus, and not the Romans, that the Ætolians had applied for aid. That, supported by such powerful allies, he was besides making such preparations for war, as enabled him to dispense with foreign assistance. That he had thirty thousand foot, five thousand horse, with provisions for ten years. That besides the immense revenues that he annually received from the mines, he had enough in his coffers to pay ten thousand foreign troops for the like number of years, without including the national forces. That he had laid up in his magazines sufficient arms for three such armies as he had actually on foot; and that though Macedonia should not be in a condition to supply him with troops, he had Thrace at his devotion, which was an inexhaustible nursery of men." Eumenes added, "That he advanced nothing on this occasion upon mere conjecture, but from his certain knowledge of facts from exact informations. For the rest, said he in concluding, after having acquitted myself of a duty, in which I was bound by my regard and gratitude for the Roman People, and having, if

A. R. 580. I may be allowed to use the expression, discharged
 Ant. C. my conscience; it only remains for me to pray the
 372. Gods to inspire you with such thoughts and designs,
 as suit the glory of your empire, and the safety of
 your friends and allies, whose fate is attached to
 yours."

The Senators were much affected with this discourse. For the rest, what had passed in the Senate, was not known, except that King Eumenes had spoke in it, and nothing transpired abroad; such inviolable secrecy was observed by that wise body, which consisted of no less than three hundred persons. It was not till after the war was terminated, that the discourse of that Prince, and the answer given him, were divulged. A great, extraordinary, and almost incredible example of discretion and wisdom.

Some days after audience was given the Ambassadors of Perseus. They found the Senate highly prejudiced against their master, and they scarce vouchsafed to hear them. Harpalus, the chief of the embassy, gave still greater offence by the haughtiness of his discourse. He said, "that Perseus desired to be believed upon his own word, when he declared he had neither said or done any thing that could give cause to consider him as an enemy. That for the rest, if he perceived, that pretexts for a war were sought against him, he should know how to defend himself with courage. That the fortune of arms is always hazardous, and the event of war uncertain."

The cities of Greece and Asia, in pain for the effects which these embassies might produce at Rome, had also sent Deputies thither under different pretexts; the Rhodians especially, who apprehended, that Eumenes might have given them a place in his accusations against Perseus; and they were not mistaken. In an audience granted them, they inveighed violently against Eumenes, reproaching him with having made Lycia take arms against them, and that he had made himself more insupportable to Asia than Antiochus himself. This discourse pleased the Asiatics,

ticks, who secretly favoured Perseus; but was greatly disliked by the Senate, and had no other effect, than to render the Rhodians suspected, and to augment their consideration for Eumenes by this kind of conspiracy which his attachment for the Romans drew upon him. They dismissed him with the highest honours and great presents.

A. R. 580.
Ant. C.
172.

Harpalus having returned to Macedonia with all possible diligence, reported to Perseus, that he had left the Romans in a disposition not long to delay making war upon him. The King was not in pain upon that head, believing himself in a condition, with the great preparations he had made, to sustain it with success. But he was most incensed against Eumenes, whom he suspected to have given Rome information of all his most secret measures; and it was against him, that he began to act, not by the method of arms, but by that of the vilest treachery. He ordered Evander of Crete, the General of his auxiliary troops, and three Macedonians, whom he had before employed on the like occasions, to assassinate that Prince. Perseus had been apprized that he was preparing for a journey to Delphi. The assassins seeing him in a very narrow defile in the midst of mountains, rolled down two great stones upon him from the eminence where they had placed themselves, and poured a great many smaller upon him, like hail, with which they intended to destroy him, after which they withdrew, leaving him for dead. When the King, who was long without motion, and almost without life, was a little come to himself, his officers carried him bathed in his blood to Corinth, and from thence to the island of Ægina, where no pains were spared to cure his wounds: and when he was so well as to bear the sea, he returned to Pergamus. A woman, at whose house the assassins had lodged at Delphi, was carried to Rome, and discovered the whole villany to the Senate. They were informed at the same time of a no less odious design formed by Perseus: this was to poison the Roman

Liv. xlii.
15.

A.R. 580. Generals and Ambassadors, who lodged together at
 Ant. C. Brindisium in the house of the principal citizen of
 172. that place named L. Rammius. The King of Macedonia had endeavoured to engage this Rammius to do him so criminal a service. But Rammius abhorring so black a design, informed the Romans of it.

Liv. xlii. The Senate, after being informed of such horrid
 25. facts, deliberated no longer, whether it was necessary to declare war against a Prince, who employed poison and assassination to rid himself of his enemies. The rest of this year was passed in making the necessary preparations for the success of this important enterprise. They began by sending Ambassadors to Perseus with the complaints of the Commonwealth, and to demand satisfaction of him. Seeing that they could not obtain audience during many days, they set out to return for Rome. The King caused them to be recalled. They represented to him, that by the treaty concluded with Philip his father, and since renewed with himself, it was stipulated in express terms, that he should neither make war out of his kingdom, nor attack the allies of the Roman People. They afterwards enumerated all his contraventions to this treaty, and demanded that he should restore to the allies all he had taken from them by force. The King replied only with passion and reproaches, complaining of the avidity and pride of the Romans, who treated Kings with insupportable haughtiness, and believed they had a right to give them the law like slaves. The Ambassadors insisting upon a positive answer, he referred them to the next day, when he would deliver it in writing. It was, "That the treaty concluded with his father did not regard him. That if he had accepted it, it was not because he approved it, but because he could not do otherwise, not being well established upon his throne. That if the Romans would consider of a new treaty, and propose reasonable conditions, he would deliberate upon what he should do." The King, after having delivered them this writing, retired abruptly. The Ambassadors declared to him,
 that

that the Roman People renounced his alliance and amity. He returned full of wrath, and in a menacing tone told them, they had to quit his kingdom within three days. On their return to Rome, they gave an account of all that had passed in their embassy; and added, they had observed in all the cities of Macedonia through which they passed, that great preparations were making for war.

A. R. 580.
Ant. C.
172.

The report of the Deputies from Issa, who came at that time to the Senate, gave reason to fear also, that Gentius, King of the Illyrians, would declare against Rome. For, after having complained, that that Prince had ravaged their lands, they added, "That he lived in a strict union with the King of Macedonia: that they were both preparing to make war with the Romans; and that the Illyrians, who were come to Rome with the seeming quality of Ambassadors, were in reality only spies sent by Gentius, to observe what passed there." The Illyrians were sent for: and as their answer confirmed this suspicion, they were dismissed, and the Senate appointed Deputies to go and complain in their name of the grievances, with which the allies charged Gentius.

Liv. xlii.
26, 27.

At the same time it was resolved to begin the war in earnest with Perseus: and till greater forces could be assembled and set out under the command of a Consul, the Prætor Cn. Sicinius was sent into Macedonia with some sea and land troops, sufficient to keep the King in alarm, and to open the enterprize.

P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

All the Kings and States both of Europe and Asia had their eyes turned upon the two potent nations, that were upon the point of entering into a war.

Liv. xlii.
29, 30.

Eumenes was actuated by an ancient hatred for Perseus, and still more by the atrocious attempt lately committed against his person in his journey to Delphi.

A.R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

Prusias, King of Bithynia, had resolved to remain neuter, and to wait the event. He flattered himself, that the Romans would not insist upon his taking arms in their favour against his wife's brother; and he was in hopes, if Perseus were victorious, that that Prince would easily suffer himself to be swayed by the intreaties of his sister.

Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, besides having promised the Romans aid, inviolably adhered, both in war and peace, to the side espoused by Eumenes, after he had contracted affinity with him, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus conceived thoughts of possessing himself of Egypt, relying upon the weakness of the minor King, and the indolence and cowardice of his guardians. He imagined, that he had found a plausible pretext for making war upon that Prince, by disputing Cœlo-Syria with him, and flattered himself, that the Romans, employed in the war of Macedonia, would not be any obstacle to his ambitious designs. In the mean time he had offered the Senate, by his Ambassadors, all his forces for the service of the Commonwealth; and he had repeated the same promise to the Ambassadors Rome had sent to him.

Ptolomy, through the weakness of his age, was not in a condition to dispose of himself. His guardians prepared for the war with Antiochus, to secure the possession of Cœlo-Syria, and promised the Romans every thing for the war of Macedonia.

Masinissa aided the Romans with corn, troops, and elephants; and intended to send his son Massagenes to this war. His plan and political views, according to the different events, which this war might have, were as follows. Masinissa was desirous to ruin the power of the Carthaginians. If the Romans were victorious, his design was to remain in the state he then was without going further, because the Romans would never suffer him to reduce the Carthaginians to extremities. If, on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone, through policy, prevented him from extending his

his conquests, and which then supported Carthage, should be worsted, he assured himself of the conquest of all Africa.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

Gentius, King of Illyricum, had only rendered himself more suspected by the Romans, without knowing however which side to take; and it seemed as if this would be the occasion, rather than a fixed plan and concerted design, to determine him to espouse either the one or the other.

And lastly, Cotys of Thrace, King of the Odrysæ, had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the disposition of the Kings in respect to the war between Perseus and the Romans.

As to what regards the Free States and cities, the multitude almost every where, who usually take the worst side, inclined to that of the King and the Macedonians. The opinions of the principal citizens of those States and cities were in a manner divided into three classes.

Some so servilely gave into the Roman side, that they lost all credit and authority with their fellow citizens, in effect of so blind a devotion and so avowed a partiality: and of these, few were swayed by the justice of the Roman government; the major part regarded only their own interest; convinced that they should be considered, and have credit in their cities only in proportion to the services they should render the Romans.

The second class was of those, who were absolutely devoted to the King: some, because their debts and the bad state of their affairs made them desire change, not believing it possible to subsist without some revolution; others, because their natural vanity, and fondness for noise and ostentation, determined them to side with the multitude, who had openly declared in favour of Perseus.

A third class, and this was the most prudent and judicious, if it had been absolutely necessary to take either side, and they had been at liberty to chuse their master, would have preferred the Romans to the

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

King : but they desired still much rather, if that had been possible, that neither of the two powers should much augment their strength by the reduction of the other, and that retaining a kind of equality and balance, they should continue at peace with each other ; because in that case one of the two taking the weak States under its protection, which the other might be for oppressing, would render their condition much more tranquil and secure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality, they considered, as from a place of safety, the battles and dangers of those who had joined either with the one or the other. We shall see, after the war is terminated, that they were much mistaken in believing themselves safe by this conduct.

Liv. xlii.
30, 31.

The Romans, after having discharged, according to their laudable custom, all the duties of religion, offered public prayers and sacrifices to the Gods, and made vows to them for the success of the enterprize for which they had been so long preparing, declared war in form against Perseus King of Macedonia, if he did not make immediate satisfaction in respect to different grievances, which had already been insisted upon more than once. The levies were made with more care than ever. The two legions which were to serve in Macedonia, consisted each of six thousand foot and three hundred horse, whereas the ordinary legions were only of five thousand two hundred foot : the number of horse was always the same. The Consul also, who was to command in this war, was allowed to incorporate into his army all the veteran Centurions and Soldiers he should think fit to chuse, to fifty years of age. And lastly, the People, in consequence of a decree of the Senate, ordained, that the legionary Tribunes should be chosen this year, not by the suffrages of the citizens, according to the usual custom, but by the Consuls and Prætors. All these precautions were highly advantageous to the legions intended for Macedonia, and shewed how important this war was deemed.

The Consuls having drawn lots, Macedonia fell to Licinius, and Cassius his Collegue remained in Italy. A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

What had lately been decreed in respect to the Centurions gave occasion for a considerable dispute. I have observed elsewhere, that there were two Centuries, and consequently two Centurions in each manipule. He who commanded the first century of the first manipule of the † Triarii, was the most considerable of all the Centurions, and was admitted to the councils of war with the principal officers. The other Centurions, or Captains, were also distinguished by the rank of their companies, in the different orders of the legion : and the first Captains of the Hastati and Principes were good posts. They rose from an inferior to a superior rank, not only by seniority but merit.

This distinction of ranks and posts of honour, which was bestowed only on valour and real services, occasioned an incredible emulation amongst the troops, that kept every thing in exercise and order. A private soldier became a Centurion, and rising afterwards through all the different ranks, was capable of advancing himself to the principal posts. This view, this hope, sustained them in the midst of the rudest fatigues, animated them, prevented them from committing faults or disgusting the service, and carried them on to the greatest actions of valour. And this is the manner of forming invincible troops.

Hitherto we have seen no example amongst the Roman officers of piquing themselves upon always retaining the rank to which they had once been raised. On the contrary it is manifest, that they rolled between different posts, sometimes superior, sometimes inferior, at the General's discretion ; every one thinking himself honoured in serving his country in any rank whatsoever. A niceness in this point of honour shewed itself for the first time on the present occasion. Whilst

† The Hastati, Principes and Triarii were three bodies of troops of which each legion was composed, and which in battle, were drawn up in three lines.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
274.

the Consul Licinius, whom the Senate had impowered to recal into the service as many of the veteran Centurions and Soldiers, as he should think fit, of the number of those under fifty years of age, was intent upon this choice, twenty-three Centurions, who had been Primipili, refused to serve, except in the same rank they had held in preceding campaigns.

The affair was brought before the Tribunes of the People. M. Popillius, who had been Consul two years before, taking upon him to speak in favour of the Centurions, represented, "that those veteran officers, besides having served their full term of years, (Emeriti) were worn out with age, and the fatigues they had undergone during a great number of years. That, however, they were ready to devote the rest of their lives to the Commonwealth, provided their condition was not worse than it had been, nor their rank inferior to that they had held in their last service." The Consul represented on his side, "That the Centurions had no pretence for making such a demand, and that it was contrary to the right which he had by his office to distribute the posts of honour according to merit; and as a proof of this, he caused a decree of the Senate to be read, which ordained, that he should list as great a number of the veteran Centurions as he could, and that no one should be exempt from the service, except he was above fifty years of age: a decree, which did not say one word of the new pretension of the Centurions." He concluded with desiring the Tribunes of the People, "not to interrupt the legionary Tribunes in the levies they were to make; and not to oppose the Consul, when he should assign each officer the rank and employment, in which he should judge him most fit to serve the Commonwealth."

After the Consul had spoke, Spurius Ligustinus, one of the Centurions, who had implored the aid of the Tribunes of the People, desired permission of the Consul and those Tribunes to speak his sense to the People; which being granted, he said as follows.

"Romans,

“ Romans, I am called Sp. Ligustinus. I am of the
 “ Tribe Crustumina, of the country of the Sabines.
 “ My father left me an acre of land, and a small cot-
 “ tage, where I was born, and brought up; and
 “ where I now live. As soon as I was of age to marry,
 “ he gave me his brother’s daughter for my wife. She
 “ brought me no portion but liberty, chastity, and a
 “ fecundity that would suit the greatest houses. We
 “ have six sons, and two daughters, both married. Of
 “ my six sons four have taken the robe of manhood,
 “ (*toga virilis*) and the two others still wear the* Præ-
 “ texta. I began to bear arms in the Consulship of
 “ P. Sulpicius and C. Aurelius. I served two years
 “ as a private soldier, in the army sent into Macedo-
 “ nia against King Philip. The third year, T. Quin-
 “ tius Flamininus, to reward me for my courage,
 “ made me captain of the century in the last maniple
 “ of the Hastati. I afterwards served as a Voluntier
 “ in Spain under the Consul M. Porcius Cato; and
 “ that General, who is so good a judge of merit,
 “ deemed me worthy of being placed at the head of
 “ the first maniple of the Hastati. I again became a
 “ private Voluntier in the army sent against Antiochus
 “ and the Ætolians: and it was in this war, that
 “ Manius Acilius made me first Centurion of the first
 “ maniple of the Principes. I have since made se-
 “ veral campaigns, and in no great number of years
 “ I have been four times Primipilus, and I have been
 “ rewarded four and thirty times by the Generals. I
 “ have received six † Civic crowns. I have served
 “ two and twenty campaigns, and am above fifty years
 “ old. Though I had not served out my term of
 “ years in the field, though my age did not give me
 “ my discharge, being capable of substituting four of
 “ my sons in my stead, I should well deserve to be
 “ exempted from the necessity of serving. But in all

A. R. 581.
 Ant. C.
 171.

* Prætexta. A robe bordered with purple, which children wore to the age of seventeen, when they took the *Toga virilis*.

† These were crowns of oak-leaves, given for saving a citizen’s life in battle.

“ that

A. R. 581. " that I have said, I have no view but to shew the
 Ant. C. " justice of my cause. For the rest, as long as those,
 171. " who make the levies, shall judge me in a condition
 " to bear arms, I shall not refuse the service. The
 " legionary Tribunes shall place me in what rank they
 " think fit; that is their part: mine is so to act, that
 " no one may be ranked above me for courage, as I
 " still retain that, and do not fear to call for witnesses
 " of it on this occasion, as well the Generals, under
 " whom I have served, as all my fellow soldiers. As
 " to you, Centurions, who are in the same cause with
 " myself, though you as well as I have implored the
 " aid of the Tribunes of the People, as however dur-
 " ing your youth you never opposed the authority of
 " the Magistrates and Senate, I should think that it
 " were consistent at your years to shew yourselves obe-
 " dient to the Senate and Consuls, and to think any
 " post honourable, that will enable you to render the
 " Commonwealth service."

When Ligustinus had done speaking, the Consul, after having given him the highest praises before the People, quitted the Assembly, and carried him into the Senate. Publick thanks were there given him in the name of that august Body, and the legionary Tribunes, as a mark and reward of his valour and zeal, appointed him Primipilus, that is to say, the post of first Centurion in the first legion. The rest of the Centurions, following his example, desisted from their appeal, and made no farther difficulty to obey.

Nothing gives us a more just idea of the Roman genius than facts of this kind. What a fund of good sense, equity, and even greatness of mind, appear in this soldier? He speaks of his poverty without shame, and of his glorious services without vanity. He is not tenacious improperly of a false point of honour. He modestly asserts his rights, and gives them up. He teaches all ages not to dispute against their country, and to make their private interests give place to the publick good; and he is so happy as to bring over all those into his sentiments, who were in the same case
 with

with himself, and had joined him. Of what force is example ! One well-disposed and wise person is sometimes all that is wanting, to bring over many to the side of reason.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

About the time of which we are speaking, arrived Ambassadors from Perseus, who said, that their master was much astonished that troops had been sent to Macedonia ; and that he was ready to give the Senate all the satisfaction which could be required of him. As it was known, that Perseus only fought to gain time, they were answered, that the Consul Licinius would soon arrive with his army in Macedonia ; and that if the King desired peace in earnest, he might make his proposals to him : but that he should not think of sending any new Ambassadors into Italy, where they would be received no more : and for themselves, they were ordered to quit it in twelve days.

Liv. xlix.
36.

The Romans omitted nothing that might contribute to the success of their enterprize. They sent Ambassadors into all parts of Greece, to animate and strengthen such of their allies as had constantly adhered to them, to determine such as were fluctuating and uncertain, and to intimidate those who appeared ill-affected.

Ibid.
37, 38.

Whilst two of these Ambassadors, Marcius and Atilius were at Larissa in Thessaly, Envoys arrived there from Perseus, who had orders to address themselves particularly to Marcius, to put him in mind of the ancient union and friendship, that had subsisted between that Roman's father and King Philip, and to ask an interview between him and their master. Marcius answered, that he had indeed often heard his father speak of the friendship and hospitality between him and King Philip, and he named a place near the river Peneus for the interview. They repaired thither some days after. The King had a great train, and was surrounded with a crowd of his Lords and guards. The Ambassadors were as well attended, many of the citizens, and of the deputies from other States, who had repaired thither, making it a duty to follow them, and the rather as they were glad of an occasion to carry

Liv. xlii.
39, 42.

A. R. 581. carry home what they might see and hear. Besides
 Ant. C. 171. which, people were curious to be present at this inter-
 view between a great King, and Ambassadors from the
 most powerful People of the earth.

After some difficulties, which arose concerning the ceremonial, and which were soon removed in favour of the Romans, they proceeded to confer. The reception was very obliging on both sides. They did not treat each other as enemies, but rather as friends united by the sacred ties of hospitality. Marcius, who spoke first, "began by excusing himself for the unhappy necessity he was under of reproaching a Prince for whom he had an high regard. He afterwards enumerated at large the subjects of complaint which the Roman People formed against him, and the different violations of treaties committed by Perseus. He dwelt strongly upon the attempt upon the life of Eumenes; and concluded with declaring, that he should be very glad if the King could supply him with good reasons for his conduct, and enable him to plead his cause, and entirely justify him before the Senate."

Perseus, after having slightly touched upon the affair of Eumenes, which he was surprized any one should presume to impute to him without any proofs, rather than to the many other enemies of that Prince, entered as to the rest into a long detail, and replied as well as he could to all the heads of the accusation against him. "What I can affirm," said he in concluding, "is that I cannot reproach myself with having knowingly and with deliberate design committed any wrong against the Romans; and if I have done any thing through inattention, apprized as I have just been of it, it is in my power to amend it. Certain it is, that I have done nothing to deserve to be pursued with such irreconcilable hatred as I am by you, in supposing me, as it seems, guilty of the most enormous and atrocious crimes, that can neither be expiated nor pardoned. It is with little foundation, that the clemency and goodness of the
 " Roman

“ Roman People is universally cried up, if for such
 “ slight subjects, which scarce deserve to be repeated,
 “ you take up arms, and make war against Kings,
 “ who are your allies.”

A. R. 583.
 Ant. C.
 371.

The result of the conference was, that Perseus Liv. xlii.
 should send new Ambassadors to Rome, in order to 43.
 try all possible methods to prevent a rupture and open
 war. This was a snare laid for the King by the Am-
 bassador to gain time. At first he affected to find
 great difficulties in respect to the truce, which Per-
 seus demanded for sending ambassadors to Rome, and
 seemed at length to come into it only out of considera-
 tion for the King. He however desired it, and the
 interest of the Romans made it necessary. They had
 at this time neither troops nor General in a condition
 to act; whereas on the side of Perseus every thing
 was ready, and if he had not been blinded by a vain
 hope of peace, he ought to have seized the present
 moment so favourable to him, and so much against
 the enemy, and have taken the field immediately.

After this interview, the Roman Ambassador went Liv. xlii.
 to Bœotia, where great commotions had been fo- 44, 45.
 mented, some declaring for Perseus, others for the Polyb.
 Romans, but at length the party of the latter pre- Legat. 63.
 vailed. The Thebans, and by their example almost
 all the other States of Bœotia, made an alliance with
 the Roman People, each by their respective Deputies,
 (for the Romans chose that method) and not by the
 consent of the whole body of the nation, according
 to the antient custom. Thus the Bœotians, for having
 rashly espoused the part of Perseus, after having long
 formed a Republic, which, on different occasions, had
 happily delivered itself from the greatest perils, saw
 themselves disunited, and governed by as many Coun-
 cils as there were cities in the province. For after that
 time they all remained independent of each other, and
 no longer formed one league, as before. And this was
 an effect of the Roman Policy, which divided them to
 weaken them, knowing it was thereby much more easy
 to

A. R. 581. to influence and subject them, than if they had continued united together.
Ant. C.

171.
Liv. xlii. From Bœotia the Deputies went to Peloponnesus.
43, 44. The assembly of the Achæan league was summoned to Argos. They demanded a thousand men only to garrison Chalcis, till the Roman army arrived in Greece; and those thousand men were sent thither immediately. Marcius and Atilius, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of the winter.

Liv. xlii. About the same time, Rome again sent Deputies
42. into the most considerable islands of Asia, to exhort
Polyb. them to give her a powerful aid in the war with Perseus.
Legat. 64. The Rhodians signalized themselves on this occasion. Hegesilocus, who was then Prytanis, (chief Magistrate) had disposed the people, and represented, that it was necessary to efface by actions, and not merely by words, all the bad impressions with which Eumenes had endeavoured to prejudice the Romans in respect to their fidelity. Accordingly, on the arrival of the Ambassadors, they shewed them a fleet of forty gallies entirely equipped, and ready to put to sea on the first order. So agreeable a surprize gave the Romans great pleasure, who returned from thence extremely satisfied with so distinguished a zeal, which had even prevented their demands.

Liv. ibid. Perseus, in consequence of his interview with Mar-
46. cius, sent Ambassadors to Rome to negotiate the
Polyb. treaty of peace; which he supposed he had began in
Legat. 65. that conference. At the same time he wrote to different States an account of what had passed in the interview, giving things such a turn, as seemed to leave the advantage on his side. He did more in respect to the Rhodians. He dispatched an embassy to them, to exhort them to remain neuter, and to wait the event of affairs as mere spectators. "If the Romans, contrary
" to treaties, attack me, you will," said he to them,
" be mediators between them and me. That office
" suits no people better than the Rhodians. Defend-
" ers, as you are, not only of your own liberty, but
" of

“ of that of all Greece ; the higher you rise in glory
 “ and power above all the rest, the more interest you
 “ have in maintaining the balance. You * well
 “ know, that to make the Greeks depend upon a sin-
 “ gle people, without leaving them any resource, is
 “ to reduce them into real slavery.” The Ambassa-
 dors were received with politeness; but the answer
 was, “ that in case of war, which they hoped would
 not happen, they desired the King not to rely upon
 the Rhodians, and to demand nothing of them, that
 might interfere with the alliance which they had
 made with the Romans.” The same Ambassadors
 went to Bœotia, where they had little reason to be
 better satisfied, except in respect to some small cities,
 that separated from the Thebans to embrace the King’s
 party.

Marcius and Atilius at their return to Rome re-
 ported their commission to the Senate. What they
 dwelt most upon, was the stratagem and address, with
 which they had over-reached Perseus, in concluding
 a truce with him, that made him incapable of begin-
 ning the war then, as he might have done, to his ad-
 vantage, and gave the Romans time entirely to com-
 plete their preparations, and to take the field. They
 did not forget to boast their address in disuniting the
 General Assembly of the Bœotians, and in laying
 those States under the impossibility of joining again to
 make an alliance with the Macedonians.

The majority of the Senate were well pleased with
 so prudent a conduct, which argued profound policy,
 and uncommon dexterity in transacting affairs. But
 the old Senators, who had been educated in other
 principles, and adhered to the maxims of antient
 times, said, “ that they did not see the Roman cha-
 racter in such conduct. That their ancestors, relying
 more upon true valour than fraud, used to make war
 openly, and not by undermining. That such mean

* Cum cæterorum id interesse, tum præcipuè Rhodiorum, quo plus
 inter alias civitates dignitate atque opibus excellent : quæ serva atque
 obnoxia fore si nullus aliò sit quam ad Romanos respectus.

A. R. 581. and unworthy artifices should be left to the Carthagi-
 Ant. C. nians and Greeks, with whom it was more glorious to
 171. deceive an enemy, than to conquer him sword in
 hand. That indeed stratagem sometimes, at the in-
 stant it was necessary, seemed to succeed better than
 valour : but that a victory openly gained in battle,
 wherein the forces on both sides were tried, and which
 the enemy could ascribe neither to chance nor fraud,
 was of a much more permanent duration ; because it
 left in the mind a conviction of the superiority of the
 forces and valour on the side of the victor."

Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the antient
 Fathers, who could not relish these new maxims of
 policy, the part of the Senate, that preferred the
 useful to the honest, had sufficient credit to cause it
 to pass by a plurality of voices, that Marcius's em-
 bassy should be approved ; and that he should be sent
 back into Greece with power to compleat what he had
 begun, and to do every thing that he should judge
 necessary for the good of the Commonwealth.

Aulus Atilius was also sent into Thessalia, to secure
 Larissa, lest upon the expiration of the truce Perseus
 might make himself master of that important place,
 which was the capital of the country. At the same
 time Lentulus was sent to Thebes, to have an eye
 over Bœotia.

Liv. xlii.
 48.

Though the war with Perseus was determined at
 Rome, the Senate gave audience to his Ambassadors.
 They repeated almost the same reasons, which that
 Prince had used in the conference with Marcius, and
 endeavoured to justify their master, principally in re-
 spect to the black attempt he was accused to have
 committed upon the person of Eumenes ; but with-
 out being able to convince the Senators of his inno-
 cence, the fact being too notorious to be palliated.
 The rest of their discourse was confined to very hum-
 ble intreaties ; but every body was so prejudiced in
 respect to them, that far from suffering themselves to
 be moved by their supplications, they would scarce
 give them the hearing. They were ordered to quit
 the

the city immediately, and all Italy, in the space of thirty days.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

The Consul Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, had orders to prepare to set out as soon as possible with his army. The Prætor C. Lucretius, who had the command of the fleet, set out with forty-five galleys, and in five days arrived from Naples at Cephallenia, where he waited the arrival of the land-forces.

S E C T. II.

Departure of the Consul Licinius. Perseus holds a council, in which the war is resolved. He assembles his troops, and harangues them. He takes the field, and stops in Thessaly. The Consul moves thither also. Eumenes joins the Consul. Slight skirmish. Action of the cavalry, in which Perseus has the advantage. The Consul makes his troops pass the river Peneus in the night, to post them in safety. Perseus perceives the errors he has committed. Grief and shame of the Romans. Joy and triumph of Perseus and his army. He sends to demand peace of the Consul. Upon his answer, he prepares again for the war. Want of prudence in Perseus. The Greeks applaud the victory of that Prince. Taking of Haliartus. The two armies, after some slight expeditions, retire into winter-quarters. Epirus declares against the Romans. Livy's opinion concerning prodigies. Expedition of Perseus against Illyricum. Sordid avarice of that Prince. The Romans are received into Stratus instead of Perseus. The Consul Marcius advances towards Macedonia. Succours prepared by the Achæans for the Consul. Perseus posts bodies of troops in the passes of the mountains. Marcius marches thro' ways of incredible difficulty. Manner in which the elephants are made to descend from the steep declivity of the mountains. Polybius tells the Consul the offers of the Achæans. He sets out on his return to Achaia. Extreme terror of the King on the approach of the enemy. The Consul enters Macedonia. Various expeditions.

Return of Polybius into Achaia. Prusias and the Rhodians send Ambassadors to Rome in favour of Perseus. The Senate's answer to the insolent discourse of the Rhodians. Letters of the Consul Marcius to the Senate. Onesimus a Macedonian Nobleman goes over to the Romans.

A.R. 531.
Ant. C.
171.
Liv. xlii.
49.

THE Consul Licinius, after having offered his vows to the Gods in the Capitol, set out from the city in the usual robe (Paludamentum.) This ceremony of the Consul's departure, says Livy, was always attended with great solemnity, and an incredible concourse of the people, especially on an important war, and against a formidable enemy. Besides the interest, which many individuals might take to themselves in the glory of the Consul who sets out, the citizens are attracted to this sight by their curiosity to see the General, to whose conduct and courage they confide the fate of the Commonwealth. A thousand anxious thoughts occur then to their minds concerning the success of the war, which is always doubtful and uncertain. They represent to themselves the defeats, which have happened through the ignorance and temerity of Generals; and on the contrary, the victories, which have been gained by their valour and good conduct. "What mortals," say they, "can know the fate of the Consul, who is upon the point of setting out, and whether they shall see him return with his victorious army, and ascend in triumph to the same Capitol from whence he departs, after having offered in it his prayers to the Gods; or whether the enemy will not have that cause for rejoicing?" The antient glory of the Macedonians, that of Philip, who had rendered himself famous by the war he had made with the Romans, highly exalted the reputation of Perseus; and every body was sensible, that from his ascending the throne an approaching war had been universally expected. Full of these thoughts, the citizens in a throng conducted him out of the city. C. Claudius and Q. Mucius, who

who had both been Consuls, and consequently had commanded armies, did not think it degraded them to serve under him as legionary Tribunes, (that is much the same as our Colonels or Brigadiers) and set out with the Consul. Three other illustrious young Romans were remarkable amongst the legionary Tribunes; Publius Lentulus, and two called Manlius Acidinus. Licinius repaired with them to Brundisium, which was the rendezvous of the army; and having passed the sea with all his troops, he arrived at Nymphæum, in the country of the Apollonians.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

Some few days before, Perseus, in consequence of the report of his Ambassadors at their return from Rome, who assured him that it was in vain to hope for peace, held a great council. Opinions were divided in it. Some believed it necessary, either to pay a tribute, if required, or to cede some part of his dominions, if the Romans insisted upon it; in a word, to suffer, for obtaining peace, all that might be supportable, rather than expose his person and kingdom to the danger of entire ruin. That if part of his dominions were left him, time and occasion might produce favourable conjunctures, which might enable him, not only to recover all he should have lost, but render him formidable to those who now made Macedonia tremble.

Liv. xlii.
50.

The majority were of a very different opinion. They maintained, "that if he ceded ever so little, he should resolve to lose his whole kingdom. That it was neither money nor tracts of land, that the Roman ambition had in view. That they aspired at universal sovereignty and dominion. That they knew the greatest kingdoms and the most powerful States were subject to many revolutions. That they had subverted the power of the Carthaginians, and set up over their heads and in their neighbourhood a potent and warlike King. That they had driven Antiochus and his posterity beyond mount Taurus. That there was no longer any kingdom, but Macedonia, capable of giving the Romans umbrage, because, being situated in their

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

neighbourhood, it could, on the first blow they might receive, resume its pristine vigour, and revive in its Kings the loftiness and ambition of their predecessors. That he had now to consider, whilst he had yet time, whether, by ceding different parts of his dominions one after another, he would see himself at length deprived of his whole power, driven out of the kingdom of his ancestors, and obliged to ask the Romans as a favour, permission to confine himself in Samothracia, or in some other island, there to pass the rest of his days in contempt and misery, with the grief of surviving his glory and empire; or whether he would chuse, by taking arms for the defence of his fortunes and glory, to expose himself valiantly to all that it might please the Gods to ordain in respect to his fate; and in case he should be victorious, to have the glory of delivering the Universe from the yoke of the Romans. That he might drive them out of Greece, as they had driven Hannibal out of Italy. That it would be the highest disgrace for Perseus, after having defended his kingdom with valour, against a brother who had unjustly disputed it with him, meanly to give it up to strangers, who were for depriving him of it. That lastly, though peace were preferable to war, all the world agreed, that there was nothing more shameful than to give up Empire without resistance, and nothing more glorious than to have left no means untried for retaining it."

Liv. xlii.
51.

This council was held at Pella, in the ancient palace of the Kings of Macedonia. Perseus, without hesitating declared for the latter opinion, "As you judge thus," said he, "let us then make war, and pray the Gods to be propitious to us." At the same time he ordered all his Generals to assemble their troops at Citium, a city of Macedonia; and he repaired thither soon after with all his guards and all the Lords of his court. He there found the army already assembled. It consisted, including the foreign troops, and those of the country, of thirty nine thousand foot,
of

of which almost one half formed the * phalanx, and four thousand horse. It † was agreed, says Livy, that no Macedonian King had ever had so numerous an army on foot, since that which Alexander marched into Asia.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

It was six and twenty years, since Philip had made peace with the Romans; and as during all that time Macedonia had been in tranquillity, and without any considerable war, she had a numerous youth at present capable of bearing arms. Perseus had kept them in exercise by slight expeditions against the neighbouring Thracians, more proper to discipline than fatigue them. Besides which, Philip and Perseus after him, had long formed the design of making war with the Romans. Thus every thing was in readiness for commencing it with advantage.

Perseus, before he took the field, thought it necessary to harangue his troops. Accordingly he ascended a tribunal, which had been prepared for him in the middle of the camp, and with his two sons by his side he spoke from thence in a manner highly proper to animate his soldiers. “ He began by making a long enumeration of all the unjust actions the Romans had committed in respect to his father, which would have induced him to have resolved upon a war with them, if death had not prevented him from putting his design in execution. He added, that after the death of Philip, the Romans had amused him with fallacious interviews, and a dissembled truce, under pretence of negotiating a reconciliation. He compared the Consul’s army, which was actually upon its march, with that of the Macedonians, according to him much superior to the other both in number and valour. “ It therefore only remains for you, Macedonians,” said he in concluding, “ to shew the same courage now “ as your ancestors did, when after having subjected

Liv. xlii.
52.

* An exact description of the phalanx may be seen in the Antient History.

† According to all authors, Alexander’s army was not quite so numerous as this of Perseus.

A. R. 581. " all Europe, they went to Asia; setting no other
 Ant. C. " bounds to their conquests than those of the universe
 171. " The question now is, not to carry your arms to the
 " remotest India, but to preserve possession of your
 " own country Macedonia against the Romans. That
 " ambitious people cannot suffer any King to be their
 " neighbour, nor leave arms in the hands of any
 " warlike nation. For you may be assured, if you
 " do not sustain the war with vigour, if you are capable
 " of submitting to the will of those proud masters,
 " you must resolve to deliver up to them your arms,
 " with your King and his kingdom."

At these words, the whole army, which had already interrupted him several times, abandoned themselves still more ardently to the different emotions that transported them, and raised cries of rage and indignation, exhorting the King to entertain the best hopes, and eagerly demanding to be led against the enemy.

Perseus afterwards gave audience to the Ambassadors of the cities of Macedonia, who came to offer him money and provisions for the use of the army. The King thanked them in the kindest manner; but did not accept their offers, giving for his reason, that he was abundantly supplied with all that was necessary. He asked only carriages of them for his rams, catapultas, and other machines of war.

He afterwards set out with all his forces, and marching towards Eordæa, arrived the next day in Elimeæ, upon the banks of the river Haliacmon; and having passed the Cambunian mountains, he seized the country called Pelagonia or Tripolis. He afterwards besieged Cyreties and Myle, which he took by assault. Not daring to attack Gyrton, which he found too well defended, he seized Elatia and Gonna, cities situated at the entrance of the defile which leads to Tempe; and lastly, he halted at Sycurium at the foot of mount Ossa, resolving to wait the enemy there.

During the same time the Consul Licinius quitted the country of Apollonia, and in order to lead his army
 into

into Thessalia, crossed Epirus, where the ways were at first easy enough. But when he had entered Athamania, the rough, and almost impracticable country did not permit his making long marches, and it was not without great difficulty and much expence of time, that he arrived at Gomphi in Thessaly. If Perseus had taken his time to have advanced in order of battle to meet an army newly raised, and of which both the men and horses were next to disabled by fatigues, the Romans themselves confessed, that they could not have fought him, without exposing themselves to an inevitable defeat. When Licinius saw, that he had reached Gomphi without any opposition from the Macedonians, the joy of having got safe through so dangerous a passage, made him only despise an enemy who knew so little how to take his advantages. Being informed that the Macedonians made incursions into Thessaly, and plundered the lands of the allies of the Commonwealth, as he found his troops sufficiently recovered of their fatigues, he marched them towards Larissa, and incamped on the banks of the river Peneus.

Eumenes at this time arrived at Chalcis with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus: the fourth, named Phileterus, was left at Pergamus for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the Consul with four thousand foot, and a thousand horse. They had left two thousand foot at Chalcis under Athenæus, to reinforce the garrison of that important place. Some troops also arrived from other allies, but little considerable in number, with some galleys.

Perseus in the mean time sent out several detachments to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Pheræ, in hopes that if the Consul quitted his camp to aid the allies of the Commonwealth, he should be able to surprize and attack him at advantage. But his hopes were vain: he only took some plunder, especially cattle of all kinds, which he distributed amongst his soldiers.

A. R. 581.
 Ant. C.
 171.
 Liv. xlii.
 57.

The Consul and the King both held a council at the same time, to determine where they should begin the war. The King, flushed with having been suffered to ravage the lands of the Pheræans with impunity, was for marching without loss of time to attack the Romans in their camp. The Romans rightly perceived, that their slowness and delays would lessen them in the opinion of the allies, and they reproached themselves with not having aided those of Pheræ. Whilst the Consul with the principal officers, and Eumenes and Attalus, were deliberating in council how to act, news was brought them on a sudden that Perseus approached with his whole army. The signal for the soldiers to stand to their arms was immediately given, and an hundred horse were detached with as many foot-archers to view the enemy. Perseus about ten in the morning finding himself only a short half league from the Roman camp, made his infantry halt, and advanced with his cavalry and light-armed troops. He had scarce moved a quarter of a league, when he perceived the Roman detachment, and on his side sent a small body of horse, sustained by some light-armed foot, against it. As the number was very near equal, and neither side detached new troops to their aid, the skirmish ended without either party being victorious. Perseus returned to his camp at Sycurium.

Liv. xlii.
 58, 59.

The next day at the same hour, he again made all his troops advance towards the camp of the Romans. They were followed with carriages laden with vessels filled with water: for there was none for almost four leagues, and the way was very dusty. In effect of which the troops might have suffered much by thirst, when they should have been to engage, which would have greatly incommoded them. The Romans keeping close, and having even made their advanced guards re-enter their works, the King's troops returned to their camp. They did the same thing several days together, in hopes that the Roman Cavalry would be detached to charge their rear, and

that then, facing suddenly about, they should bring them to a battle at a considerable distance from their camp. And as the King's horse was much superior to that of the Romans, as well as his light-armed troops, they assured themselves of giving a good account of them.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

This first design not succeeding, the King moved to incamp nearer the enemy at the distance of little more than a league and an half from them. Having drawn up his infantry, at day-break, in the same place, where he had usually done so the preceding days, that is, at a thousand paces from the enemy, he led on all his cavalry and light-armed troops towards the camp of the Romans. The dust, which seemed more near than usual, and raised by a greater number of troops, gave the alarm there; and the first, who brought the news, could scarce be believed, when he said the enemy were so near; because during several days together before, they had not appeared till ten in the morning, whereas it was now only sun-rise. But the repeated cries of many, who declared the same thing, leaving no room to doubt it any longer, the camp was in great confusion. The officers from all sides repaired to the Consul's tent, and the soldiers ran precipitately to arm. The Consul's negligence in being so ill informed of the motions of an enemy who was so near him, and ought to have kept him night and day upon the watch, gives us no great idea of his merit.

Perseus had drawn up his troops at less than five hundred paces from the Consul's intrenchments. Cotys, King of the Odrysæ in Thrace commanded the left with the Cavalry of his nation: the light-armed troops were distributed from space to space along the front. The Macedonian cavalry, mingled with the Cretan, formed the right wing. On the sides and within the two wings were distributed the horse, which Livy calls Royal (perhaps because they formed part of the King's Household) and some auxiliaries of different nations. The King was in the centre with the
body

A. R. 581. body of horse, that always attended his person ; and he
 Ant. C. posted before him the slingers and other troops, that
 171. used missive weapons, who might amount to about four hundred.

The Consul having drawn up his infantry within his camp, made only his cavalry and light-armed troops quit it, which he drew up before his intrenchments. The right wing, that consisted of all the Italian cavalry, was commanded by C. Licinius Crassus, the Consul's brother ; the left, composed of the cavalry of the Greek allies, by M. Valerius Levinus : both were intermingled with their light-armed troops. Q. Mucius was posted in the centre with a chosen body of horse, and he had in his front two hundred Gaulish horse, and three hundred drawn out of the troops of Eumenes. Four hundred Thessalian horse were posted a little beyond the left wing, as a body of reserve. King Eumenes, and Attalus his brother, with their troops, occupied the space between the intrenchments and the rear ranks.

This was only a battle of the cavalry, which were very near equal in number on both sides, and might amount on each to about four thousand men, without including the light-armed troops. The action began by the slingers and missive weapons, who were posted in the front. But after this prelude the Thracians, like wild beasts long confined, and in effect only more fierce, fell furiously upon the right wing of the Italians, who, all brave and intrepid as they were, could not sustain so rude and violent a charge. The light-armed troops, which the Thracians had amongst them, beat down the lances of the enemy with their swords, and sometimes cut the legs of their horses, and thrust them into their sides. Perseus attacked the Greeks in person, put them into disorder at the first charge, and pursued them vigorously. The Thessalian cavalry, which, separated from the left-wing by no great space, as we have said before, formed a body of reserve, and which in the beginning of the action, had only been spectators of the battle, was of great support to the

the left-wing, when it began to give way. For this cavalry, retiring before the King slowly and in good order, after it had joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave those who fled, as well as that Prince, a secure retreat in their ranks; and seeing that the enemy did not pursue them with the same vigour, they even ventured to go farther, and to support and reanimate them. The Macedonians, who had broke in the pursuit, were afraid to hazard a new attack with troops that marched in good order, and with an intrepid aspect.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

Hippias and Leonatus, who had remained with the infantry of Perseus, having been apprized of the advantage gained by the cavalry, that the King might not be wanting to so favourable an occasion of compleating the glory of the day by pushing the enemy with vigour, and attacking them in their works, of their own accord and without orders led on the Macedonian phalanx to join him. And indeed it seemed, that the King with some little effort might have rendered his victory compleat; and that, in the present ardour of his own troops, and the terror they had spread amongst the Romans, the entire defeat of the latter was certain.

Whilst that Prince, divided between hope and fear, was irresolute how to act, in so critical a conjuncture, Evander of Crete, in whom he reposed great confidence, having seen the phalanx advance, ran immediately to Perseus, “and exhorted him in the strongest terms not to abandon himself to the blind joy of a slight advantage, and not to enter rashly upon a new action, which was not necessary, and in which he would risque all things. He represented to him, that this first success, if he lay still, would enable him either to conclude peace with honour, or to bring over to his party a greater number of allies, to join with him in the war against the Romans.” The King was already inclined to this opinion. For which reason he made his cavalry retreat from the battle, and ordered his infantry to march back into the camp.

On

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

On the side of the Romans, there fell this day two hundred horse, and more than two thousand foot; whereas Perseus did not lose above twenty horse, and twice that number of infantry.

Liv. xlii.
60.

The victors entered their camp full of joy, and especially the Thracians, who singing and in a kind of triumph carried the heads of the enemies they had killed upon the points of their spears. The Romans, on the contrary, in the utmost affliction kept a mournful silence, and struck with terror expected every moment, that the enemy would attack them in their camp. Eumenes was of opinion, that it was necessary to decamp to the other side of the Peneus, in order to cover their troops with that river, till they had recovered from their consternation. The Consul would not come into this retreat without pain, which, as it was a manifest confession of fear, was entirely shameful for himself and his army; but, however, overcome by reason, and yielding to necessity, he made his troops pass without noise in the night, and incamped on the other side of the river.

Ibid,

Perseus the next day, advanced to attack the enemy, and to give them battle: but the time was passed, and he found their camp abandoned. When he saw them intrenched on the other side of the river, he perceived the enormous fault he had committed the day before, in not pursuing them vigorously immediately after their defeat: but he owned that it was still a greater, in having remained quiet and unactive during the night. For without making the rest of his army move, if he had only detached his light-armed troops against the enemy whilst they were passing the river with precipitation, he might without difficulty have defeated part of their army.

These two faults, and particularly the last, has something so strange in it, that it manifestly argues a blindness of mind expressly sent by God, who had destined Perseus and his kingdom to destruction. Neither the King, nor any of his officers so much as think of observing the enemy's motions in the night.

Such

Such a stupefaction seems only to be compared with that of Saul's officers, of whom the Scripture speaks in these terms:—" And no man saw it, nor knew it, neither awaked: for they were all asleep, because a deep sleep from the Lord was fallen upon them."

A. R. 583.
Ant. C.
171.
Sam.
xxvi. 12.

The Romans, indeed, having placed a river between them and the enemy, were not any longer in the immediate danger of being attacked and put to the rout: but the blow they had just received, and the blemish they had given the glory of the Roman name, afflicted them extremely. The whole council of war, which the Consul had called, laid the blame upon the Ætolians. They said, it was they, who had taken the alarm, that the rest of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example, and that five of the principal persons of their nation had been seen to fly first. On the contrary, the Thessalians were praised for their courage, and their leaders rewarded with various marks of honour.

The spoils taken from the Romans were considerable: above fifteen hundred shields, a thousand cuirasses, with a great number of helmets, swords and darts of all kinds were brought off. The King gave them as rewards of honour to all the officers, who had distinguished themselves most, and having assembled the army, " he began by saying, that what had lately happened was in respect to them an happy presage, and an assured pledge of what they had to expect for the future. He praised the troops who had been in the action; extolled in pompous terms the victory gained over the Roman cavalry, in which the principal force of their army consisted, and which they had hitherto believed invincible. He promised himself a still greater over their foot, which had only escaped out of their hands by a shameful retreat during the night, but that it would be easy to force them in their intrenchments where fear kept them shut up."

Liv. xlii.
61.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

The victorious soldiers, who carried the spoils of the enemies they had killed upon their shoulders, heard this discourse with great pleasure, and promised themselves every thing from their courage, judging of the future by the past. The infantry, on their side, especially that which composed the Macedonian phalanx, prompted by a laudable emulation declared that on the first occasion they would equal and even surpass, the glory of their companions. All, in a word demanded with incredible ardour only to be led on against the enemy. The King, after having dismissed the assembly, marched the next day and encamped near Mopsia, an eminence between Tempe and Larissa.

The Romans, without quitting the banks of the Peneus, moved to encamp in a more secure post, where Misagenes, the son of Masinissa, joined the Consul with a thousand horse, as many foot, and two and twenty elephants.

Perseus at first enjoyed the good success of so important a battle to the highest degree. He considered himself as superior to a people, who were so themselves in respect to all other Princes and nations. It was not a victory gained by surprize, and in a manner stolen by stratagem and address, but carried by open force, by the valour and bravery of his troops, and that before his eyes, and by his own orders. He had seen the Roman haughtiness give way three times in one day before him : first by shutting themselves up in their camp ; then, when they had ventured out of it, by shamefully flying ; and lastly, in flying again during the darkness of the night, and in finding no safety but within their intrenchments, the usual refuge of fear and cowardice. Such thoughts were highly soothing, and capable of dazzling a Prince already but too full of his own merit.

Liv. xlii.

62.
Polyb.

Legat. 69.

But when these first emotions were a little abated, and the intoxicating vapour of a sudden joy was dispelled, and made way for reflection, Perseus being come to himself, and considering in cold blood all the

the consequences his victory might have, he began in some measure to be terrified at them. All the wise courtiers about him, taking advantage of these good dispositions, ventured to give him the counsel, of which they made him capable: this was to employ the advantage he had lately gained for obtaining an honourable peace of the Romans. They represented to him, “ that the sign of a wise Prince, and of one who deserved success, was not to rely upon the present favours of fortune, nor to abandon himself to the glitter of a dazzling prosperity. That accordingly he would do well to send to the Consul to renew the treaty with him upon the same conditions that T. Quintius, when victorious, had imposed upon his father Philip. That he could not terminate the war more gloriously for himself, than after so memorable a battle; nor ever hope a more favourable occasion of concluding a safe and lasting peace, than in a conjuncture when the blow which the Romans had received, would render them more tractable, and better disposed to grant him good conditions. That if, notwithstanding this blow, the Romans, through an haughtiness but too natural to them, rejected a just and equitable accommodation, they would be manifestly in the wrong; and that as much as they would have the just wrath of the Gods, who abhor pride, to fear, so much would the moderation of Perseus render both Gods and men favourable to him.”

The King gave into these wise remonstrances; and the counsels which tended to peace found him always disposed to hear them. The majority also of his counsel were inclined the same way. Accordingly Ambassadors were sent to the Consul, who assembled a numerous council to give them audience. They said, “ That they came to ask peace. That Perseus would pay the Romans the same tribute as Philip had done, and that he would evacuate the cities, territories, and all the places which Philip had evacuated.”

When they withdrew, the council deliberated upon the answer it was necessary to give. The Roman con-

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

stancy appeared on this occasion with lustre. It * was then the custom to shew all the assurance and loftiness of good fortune in adversity, and to act with moderation in prosperity. The answer was: " That Perseus must not hope for peace, unless he left it to the Senate to dispose of his person and kingdom as they should think fit."

When this answer was brought to the King, those who composed his council, were strangely struck with so extraordinary, and, according to them, so ill-timed a pride; and most of them believed, that peace was no longer to be mentioned, and that the Romans would soon be obliged to demand that themselves, which they now refused. Perseus was not of the same opinion. He saw plainly that Rome was only so haughty, because she was conscious of her superiority; and this gave him terrible apprehensions. He sent again to the Consul, and offered a more considerable tribute than that imposed upon Philip. When he saw, that the Consul would abate nothing of his demands, having no farther expectations of peace, he returned to his camp at Sycurium, from whence he had set out, determined to try again the chance of war.

This whole conduct of Perseus gives reason to think, that he must have undertaken this war very imprudently, and without having compared his own strength and resources with those of the Romans, in believing himself happy after a signal victory, and in being capable of asking peace, and submitting to such grievous conditions, as his father Philip had not complied with, till after a bloody defeat. It seems clear, that he had scarce taken his measures judiciously, nor well concerted the means of succeeding, as after a first action, in which the whole advantage is on his side, he begins by perceiving all his weakness and inferiority, and inclines in some sense towards despair. Why then was he the first to break the peace? Why was he

* Ita tum mos erat, in adversis vultum secundæ fortunæ gerere, moderari animos in secundis. LIV.

the aggressor without necessity? Why was he so hasty, and yet stop at the first step? Why did he wait to know his weakness, till his own victory taught it him? These things do not denote a wise and discerning Prince.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

The news of the battle of the cavalry having spread in Greece, it made known what people thought there, and discovered in full light the disposition of the cities. For not only the Partisans of the Macedonians, but a great number of those, who had received the most considerable advantages from the Romans, even those, who had experienced the violence and pride of the Kings of Macedonia, evidenced their joy upon this occasion; most of them having no other reason but a fantastical caprice, though common enough, which even at the shews, says Livy, where the gladiators combat to please the multitude, occasions people to declare warmly for the weaker against the stronger.

Liv. xlii.
63.

At the same time the Prætor Lucretius besieged Haliartus in Bœotia. After a long and vigorous defence, that city was at length taken by storm, plundered, and then entirely demolished.

Ibid.

Perseus in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans, incommoded them very much, harrassing their troops, and cutting off their foragers if they straggled ever so little. He one day took a thousand waggons, most of them laden with corn, which the Romans had just reaped, with six hundred prisoners. He afterwards attacked a small body of troops in the neighbourhood, of which he was in hopes of making himself master with no difficulty: but he found more resistance from it than he expected; and the Consul coming to their support with his whole army, Perseus retreated not without some loss. Having left a strong garrison at Gonna, he led back his troops into Macedonia. The Consul, after having subjected Perrhæbia, returned to Larissa. From thence, he dismissed all the allies except the Achæans, dispersed his troops in Thessaly, where he left them in winter-quarters, and went to Bœotia at the request of the

A. R. 581. Thebans, upon whom the people of Coronæa made
Ant. C. incurfions.
171.

Perfeus did not remain idle on his fide: he gained fome advantages both over the Roman fleet near Oream a city of Eubæa, and in Thrace againft the enemies of Cotys his ally.

Polyb.
& Diod.
apud
Valef.

At the fame time the nation of the Epirots went over to his party, determined fo to do particularly by the authority of Cephalus, one of the principal perfons of Epirus, who was however rather forced by neceffity to throw himfelf into the arms of Perfeus, than induced to it by inclination. For this Cephalus was a wife and judicious man, and thought in the fame manner with the moft worthy perfons of Greece. He was very forry that a rupture fhould happen between the Romans and Perfeus, wifely perceiving that Greece would be the prey of the victor. After the war had been declared contrary to his wifhes, he had refolved to act as a good and faithful ally to the Romans, and to do all for them that was neceffary, but without meanness, and hurrying into flavery.

It was not poffible for him to purfue fo well concerted a plan: There was at that time in Epirus one Charopus, grandfon of another of that name, who in former times had rendered the Romans a fignal fervice, in fupplying the Conful Quintius with the means of forcing the defile, where Philip had intrenched himfelf on the banks of the river Aous. Young Charopus had been fent to Rome by his grandfather to learn the Roman language and letters. On his return into Epirus, proud of the friendship of a great number of Romans, and being befides of a turbulent malignant difpofition, he inceffantly attacked and harrafed the principal perfons of the nation, either by declamations and inveftives in publick, or fecret informations, in which mingling a little truth with much falfehood, he gave a bad turn to all their actions, and laboured not unfecefffully to render them fufpected and odious to the Romans. Cephalus, and thofe who thought like him, at firft defpifed this factious
young

young man, relying upon the clearness of their conduct, and being conscious to themselves, that if they had formerly been under engagements with the royal family of Macedonia, it had been without prejudice to the alliance with the Romans, to whom they had retained an inviolable fidelity. But when they saw, that the Romans gave ear to the discourses of Charopus, moved in particular by the example of some of the most illustrious Ætolians, who upon loose and slight accusations had been carried to Rome, they believed it necessary for them to prevent the like disgrace; and not finding any other resource but in the amity of Perseus, they were reduced to have recourse to it, and to make their nation enter into alliance with him.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C.
171.

We shall see in the sequel what misfortune this fatal step drew upon Epirus, the cause of which is solely to be imputed to the calumnies of Charopus: and in this manner a wretched informer may occasion the ruin of an whole nation.

A. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

A. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

A. R. 582.
Ant. C.
170.

The Consul Hostilius, to whom Macedonia had fallen as province by lot, hastening to join his army in Thessaly, passed through Epirus. He did not know the change which had happened there, because it had not yet been declared openly against the Romans. He was very near being surprized and seized by treachery concerted with the King of Macedonia. Having entered Thessaly, Perseus defeated him in a battle, and obliged him to fly. His conduct was neither nor more successful during all the rest of the campaign.

Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS, II.

CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

A. R. 583.
Ant. C.
169.

The Romans were highly intent upon the Macedonian war. The Consul Q. Marcius was charged with the conduct of it.

A. R. 583. Livy, before he relates the prodigies, according to
 Ant. C. his custom, makes a reflexion, which shews as well a
 169. religious as judicious manner of thinking in him, ex-
 Liv. xliii. 13. empt from superstition, but at the same time, without
 the affectation of free-thinking. “ I know, says he,
 that few prodigies are now talked of, and that histo-
 rians do not deign to mention them in their writings.
 This negligence is an effect of the same irreligion,
 which at present induces many people to affirm, that
 the Gods do not intermeddle in what passes here be-
 low, nor inform mankind of what is to happen to
 them. As for my part, in relating the actions of the
 Antients, I assume also the antient taste ; I adopt the
 sentiments and maxims of our forefathers ; and I
 should make a kind of scruple of conscience to judge
 facts unworthy of a place in my annals, for which
 the wisest personages of their times have believed,
 that the Commonwealth and Religion ought to have
 so serious an attention.”

Liv. ibid. Perseus had believed it necessary for him to take
 the advantage of the winter-season to make an expe-
 dition against Illyricum, which was the sole part from
 which Macedonia had any irruptions to fear, whilst
 the King should be employed against the Romans.
 This enterprize succeeded very happily for him, and
 almost without any loss on his side. He began by the
 siege of the city Uscana, which had fallen into the
 hands of the Romans, and took it after a sufficiently
 long defence. He afterwards made himself master
 of all the fortresses of the country, in most of which
 were Roman garrisons, and he took a great number
 of prisoners.

Ibid. At the same time he sent Ambassadors to Gentius
 19, 20. one of the Kings of Illyricum, to engage him in an
 Polyb. alliance with him. These Ambassadors, having passed
 Legat. 76, the summit of mount Scodrus, crossed the part of Il-
 77. lyricum, which the Macedonians had purposely laid
 entirely waste by ruining the whole country, in order
 to deprive the Dardanians of the means of entering
 Illyricum or Macedonia ; and lastly, after infinite
 pains

pains they arrived at Scodra. King Gentius was then at Lissa. He gave them audience there, and received them in a very obliging manner. After having heard the proposals, which they made him from their master, he replied, that he was much inclined of himself to make an alliance with Perseus: but that having neither preparations of war, nor money, he was not in a condition to declare against the Romans. This was explaining himself clearly enough. Perseus, who was avaricious, did not, or rather would not, seem to understand his demand. He sent a second Embassy to him, without speaking of money; and received the same answer from him.

A. R. 583.
Ant. C.
169.

Polybius observes, that this fear of expence in important and decisive conjunctures as the present was, a fear which argues a mean and sordid spirit and sentiments unworthy of a Prince, made Perseus lose many fair occasions; and that if he would have sacrificed no considerable sums, he might have engaged several Republicks and Princes on his side. He cannot conceive how a King, for saving wealth, which is only estimable from the good use made of it, can expose himself and kingdom to destruction; and he considers this blindness as a terrible punishment from the Gods.

Perseus some time after what we have just related, made part of his troops march towards Stratus, a very strong city of Ætolia above the gulf of Ambracia. He had been made to hope, that it would surrender as soon as he appeared before the walls; but the Romans prevented him, and threw succours into the place. He retired into Macedonia, highly regretting the useless pains he had taken in fatiguing his troops by a precipitate march in very difficult ways, to see the gates of a city shut against him, into which he expected to have entered without resistance. All that we have just related passed during winter.

Early in the spring, the Consul Marcius set out from Rome, advanced towards Macedonia, persuaded that it was necessary to attack Perseus in the heart of

Liv. xliii.
21, 22.

Liv. xliv.
1, 2.

A. R. 583. his dominions. The Prætor C. Marcius Figulus, who
 Ant. C. 169. commanded the fleet, used no less diligence.

Polyb. 169. Upon the report that the Roman armies were ready
 Legat. 78. to take the field, Archon, the principal magistrate
 of the Achaïans, to justify his Republick from the
 suspicions and bad rumours which had been spread
 against it, advised the Achaïans to prepare a decree,
 by which it should be ordained, that an army should
 march into Theffaly, and that they should share in
 all the dangers of the war with the Romans. The
 decree being passed, orders were given Archon to
 raise troops, and to make all the necessary prepara-
 tions. It was afterwards resolved, that Ambassadors
 should be sent to the Consul, to inform him of the
 resolution which the Republick had taken, and to
 know from him where and when he judged it proper
 for the Achaïan army to join his. Polybius, our his-
 torian, was chosen with some others, for this embassy;
 on their arrival they found the Romans out of Thef-
 faly, incamped in Perrhæbia between Azora and Do-
 liche, and highly perplexed concerning the way they
 were to take. He followed them, to wait a favour-
 able occasion for speaking to the Consul, and shared
 with him in all the dangers he ran in entering Ma-
 cedonia.

Liv. xliv. 2. Perseus, who did not know what route the Consul
 took, had posted considerable bodies of troops in two
 places, through which it was probable he would at-
 tempt to pass. He incamped the rest of his army
 at Dium, scouring the neighbouring coasts in person
 with a small body of horse, and marching sometimes
 on one side and sometimes on another without much
 design.

Ibid. 3-5. Marcius, after long deliberation, determined to
 pass the mountains near a place called in the text of
 Livy as we now have it, Octolopha. It is not certain
 whether there is not an error in this name: But it is,
 that the place in question must not be confounded
 with Octolopha in the country of the Dassaretians to-
 wards the western part of Macedonia; and that our
 histo-

historian intended to speak of a place situated at some small distance from mount Olympus, Dium, and Phila. However that be, the Consul had incredible difficulties to surmount, in such steep and impracticable ways. He had taken the precaution to seize an eminence, which favoured his passage, and from whence they could see the enemy's camp, that was not above a thousand paces distant, and the lands round Dium and Phila; which exceedingly animated the soldiers, who had such opulent countries, where they hoped to enrich themselves before their eyes. Hippas, whom the King had posted in this pass to defend it with a body of twelve thousand men, seeing the eminence seized by a detachment of the Romans, marched against the Consul, who was advancing with his whole army, harrassed his troops during two days, and incommoded them extremely by frequent attacks.

Marcus was very anxious, not being able either to advance with safety, or retreat without shame, and even without great danger. The only choice he could now make, was to pursue an enterprize with vigour, formed perhaps with too much boldness and temerity, but which might succeed by a tenacious perseverance; the only resource in the like case, and often successful. It is certain, that if the Consul had been to act against an enemy like the antient Kings of Macedonia, in the narrow defile where his troops were shut up, he would infallibly have received a great blow. But Perseus, instead of sending fresh troops to sustain those of Hippas, to whom he was so near, that he heard in his camp the cries they raised in fighting; instead of going in person to attack the enemy, continued his useless excursions with his cavalry in the neighbourhood of Dium, and by that neglect gave the Romans opportunity to extricate themselves from the bad step they had taken.

It was not without infinite difficulty they effected this; the horses that carried the baggage sinking under their loads on the declivity of the mountain, and falling

A. R. 583.
Ant. C.
169.

ing almost every step they took. The elephants in particular gave them great trouble. It was necessary to find a new means to make them descend in these extremely steep places; and this was as follows. Along the steep parts of the mountain they laid two long beams sustained at top by the ground, and at their lower extremities by props driven into the earth, which so raised up the lower ends, as made the declivity little and easy. These beams were laid something more distant from each other than the breadth of the body of an elephant. Across these two beams, which were parallels, they afterwards laid planks thirty feet long, which formed a kind of bridge, and covered them with earth. At the end of this first bridge, but at some distance a second of the same kind was erected; then a third, and so on, wherever the declivity was too steep for those animals to go down without help. The elephant walked from firm ground upon the bridge, and before he came to the end of it, the props were cut, the bridge fell, and the animal was obliged to slide gently down and move forwards till he came to the beginning of another bridge, where finding level footing he advanced on quietly as on the first bridge; and the same was done as before. We must suppose, which Livy does not say, that each bridge was capable of being used for all the elephants in the Roman army; and their number could not have been great. The manner in which Hannibal made his elephants pass the Rhone, has some similitude to what the Romans do upon this occasion: but the trouble was far from being so great.

It is not easy to express the fatigues, which the Romans had to suffer in this pass, the soldiers being often obliged to slide also along the ground with their arms, because they could not keep upon their legs walking upright. It was agreed on all hands, that with an handful of troops the enemy might have entirely defeated the whole Roman army. At length, after many pains and dangers, it arrived in the plain, and was then safe.

As the Consul seemed then to have happily completed the most difficult part of his enterprize, Polybius took this favourable moment for presenting to him the decree of the Achaïans, and to assure him of the resolution they had taken to come with all their forces, and share with him all the fatigues and dangers of this war. Marcius, after having thanked the Achaïans for their good intention in very obliging terms, told them, that they might spare themselves the pains and expence, in which this war would engage them : that in the state wherein he saw affairs, he did not believe he had occasion for the aid of allies. After this discourse, Polybius's Collegues returned into Achaia.

A. R. 585.
Ant. C.
169.
Polyb.
Legat. 78.

Polybius only remained in the Roman army, till the Consul having received advice, that Appius, surnamed Centho, had asked the Achaïans for an aid of five thousand men to act in Epirus, sent him back to his country, exhorting him not to suffer his Commonwealth to supply those troops and to engage in expences entirely useless.

Whilst the King was bathing, he was informed that the enemy approached. This news threw him into a terrible consternation. Uncertain how to act, and changing resolution every moment, he vented cries, and lamented his fate, to see himself conquered without fighting. He caused the two officers, whom he had posted to guard the passes to return, ordered the gilt statues which were at Dium to be carried on board his fleet, lest they should fall into the hands of the Romans, that the treasures he had at Pella should be thrown into the sea, and that all his galleys at Thessalonica should be burnt. As to himself, he retired to Pydna. Terror and confusion on the prospect of sudden danger unveil the inmost heart of a Prince, and shew him such as he is.

Liv. xliv.
6.

The Roman army owed its safety to the imprudent and stupid fear of Perseus, which caused the Consul's temerity, in engaging himself in a country, from which he had never got off, if his enemies had been

A. R. 583. in their senses, to be considered as a laudable boldness.
 Ant. C. There were two ways for extricating himself out of
 169. this danger; the one by penetrating through the valleys of Tempe, in order to enter Thessaly; the other in passing by Dium, to enter Macedonia. Now these two important posts were occupied by good bodies of troops, which the King had placed there. If Perseus therefore had had a little more resolution, and had only withstood the terror he was seized with on the approach of the Romans, for ten days, the Consul could neither have retired through Tempe into Thessaly, nor have had provisions in the defiles into which he had advanced. For the ways through Tempe have precipices on their sides so very steep, that the eye cannot view them without being dazzled. The King's troops guarded this pass in four different places, the last of which was so narrow, that ten well-armed men only were capable of defending the entrance of it. Thus the Romans not being able to receive provisions through the narrow defiles of Tempe, nor to pass there themselves, they would have been obliged to regain the mountains, from whence they had descended, which would have been impracticable if the enemy had continued to occupy the eminences. They would then have had no other resource than to penetrate into Macedonia on the side of Dium by passing through the enemy; which would not have been less difficult, "if the Gods," says Livy, "had not deprived Perseus of counsel and prudence." For, by making a fosse and intrenchments in the very narrow defile at the foot of mount Olympus, he would absolutely have shut them out of it, and stopped them short. But "the King's terror had thrown him into such a blindness of mind, he neither saw nor did any thing that might save him," he left all the entrances into his kingdom open to the enemy, and took refuge with precipitation at Pydna. Livy's expressions are very remarkable in this place, and shews us what means God employs for destroying the greatest empires.

Nis

Nisi Diu mentum Regi ademissent—Quorum nihil cum A.R. 583.
dispexisset cæcata mens subito terrore. Ant. C.

The Consul, seeing that he might hope every thing 169.
 from the terror and imprudence of the enemies, gave Liv. xliv.
 orders to the Prætor Lucretius, who was at Larissa, to
 seize the posts adjacent to Tempe, which Perseus had
 abandoned, in order to provide a retreat for his troops
 in case of necessity, and sent Popillius to examine the
 passes near Dium. When he knew that the ways were
 open and undefended, he advanced, and arriving at
 Dium the second day, he made his army incamp near
 a temple of Jupiter, which was not far off, to prevent
 it from being plundered. When he entered the city,
 which was full of magnificent buildings, and very
 well fortified, he was astonished in the highest degree
 to find, that the King had abandoned it so easily. He
 continued his march, and made himself master of
 many places almost without any resistance. But, the
 more he advanced, the less provisions he found, and
 the famine increased in proportion: this reduced him
 to return to Dium: He was even obliged to quit that
 city, and to retire to Phila, where the Prætor Lucre-
 tius had informed him, that he would find provisions
 in abundance. This last step much disgusted the
 army; and made way for discourses very little in the
 Consul's favour. And indeed his departure from Dium
 instructed Perseus, that he was now to recover that by
 his courage, which he had lost by his excessive timidity;
 He accordingly repossessed himself of that city, and
 soon repaired the ravages which the Romans had com-
 mitted there.

Popillius, on his side, besieged and took Heraclea,
 which was but a quarter of a league from Phila. The
 Consul moved, and incamped near that place, as if
 he had designed to drive Perseus from Dium, and to
 go on from thence to Pieria. But his real intent being
 then to take up his winter-quarters, he sent some bo-
 dies of troops to secure the ways, by which the neces-
 sary provisions were brought him from Theffaly, and to
 chuse the places where magazines might be commodi-
 ously

A. R. 583.
Ant. C. 169. oufly settled, and to erect stations for those who guarded the convoys.

Perseus, having recovered his fright with his reason, would have been very glad if his orders for throwing his treasures at Pella into the sea, and for burning all his galleys at Thessalonica, had not been executed. Andronicus, to whom the last of these commissions had been given, had delayed the affair, to leave time for the repentance which might soon follow this command, as it really happened. Nicias, who had not so much precaution, had thrown all the money he found at Pella into the sea. His fault was soon remedied by divers, who brought up almost all that money from the bottom. For their reward, the King caused them all to be put to death secretly, as well as Andronicus and Nicias; so great was his shame for the abject terror to which he had abandoned himself, that he could not bear to have any witnesses or traces of it in being! But ought a slight fault in some sense, as it at least only affected him who had committed it, to have been covered with a cruelty more than barbarous and tyrannical? Was such a conduct a proper means to that effect? And had he even succeeded in stifling the complaints of his subjects in respect to so black an action, could he hope also to abolish the remembrance of it?

Liv. xliv.
10—13. Several expeditions were made on both sides both by sea and land, which had not much consequence, and were not very important. The Prætor C. Marcus formed some sieges, which he was obliged to raise.

Polyb.
Legat. 78. When Polybius returned into Peloponnesus after his embassy, the letter of Appius, by which he demanded five thousand men, had already been received there. Some short time after, the council that assembled at Sicyon to deliberate upon this affair highly perplexed Polybius. Not to execute the order he had received from the Consul Marcus, had been an inexcusable fault. On the other side, it was dangerous to refuse the troops which might be of service to the Romans, and for which the Achæians had no occasion.

To extricate himself out of so delicate a dilemma, he had recourse to a decree of the Roman Senate, which prohibited the having any regard to the letters of Generals, unless they were attended with an order of the Senate, which Appius had not annexed to his. He accordingly said, that before sending any thing to Appius, it was necessary to inform the Consul of his demand, and wait the decision he should think fit to make. Polybius hereby saved the Achaians an expence, which would have amounted to above an hundred and twenty thousand crowns.

A. R. 583.
Ant. C.
169.

In the mean time Ambassadors arrived at Rome from Prusias King of Bithynia, and from the Rhodians, in favour of Perseus. The discourse of the former had nothing in it but what was modest in respect to the Romans, but argued little integrity in respect to him for whom Prusias pretended to interest himself. They declared, “ that their masters had always adhered to the side of the Romans, and should never cease to do so, as long as the war should continue: but that having promised Perseus to employ his good offices for him with the Romans for obtaining peace, he desired them, if they could resolve to lay aside their resentment, to let him know, that it was in consideration of him, in order that he might make a merit of it with the King of Macedonia.” The Rhodians talked in a much different stile. “ After having made a pompous enumeration of the services they had rendered the Roman People, and ascribed to themselves most of the victories gained with their aid over the enemies of Rome, and particularly over Antiochus, they added: That during the peace between the Macedonians and Romans, they had began to enter into a negotiation with Perseus, that they had broke up this treaty against their will, and without any subject of complaint against the King, because the Romans had thought fit to engage them in the war. That for three years, which this war had subsisted, they had suffered many inconveniences from it. That their trade by sea being interrupted,

Liv. xliv.
14, 15.

A. R. 583.
Ant. C.
169.

rupted, their island was greatly straitened by the reduction of the revenues and advantages they derived from it. That not being able to sustain such considerable losses, they had sent Ambassadors into Macedonia to King Perseus, to declare to him, that the Rhodians judged it necessary that he should make peace with the Romans. That they had also sent others to Rome, to make the same declaration. That if the two powers refused to comply with so reasonable a proposal, and to put an end to the war, the Rhodians should consider what they had to do."

It is easy to judge in what a manner a discourse so ridiculously vain and arrogant was received. Some historians tell us, that all the answer given to it was to cause a decree of the Senate to be read in their presence, by which the Caryans and Lycians were declared free. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the most sensible part: for they considered those two nations as their subjects, who had been made so by a decree of the Senate after the war with Antiochus. According to others, the Senate replied in few words: "That the disposition of the Rhodians, and their secret intelligence with Perseus, had been long known at Rome. That when Rome should have conquered him, which was expected to happen every day, she would in her turn consider what she had to do, and treat every people according to the conduct they should have observed in this war." The usual presents were however offered the Ambassadors; but they did not accept them.

Liv. xliv.
16.

The Consul Q. Marcius's letter was afterwards read, in which he gave an account of the manner in which he had entered Macedonia, after having undergone incredible difficulties in passing a very narrow defile. He added, that the Prætor had got provisions for him for the winter from all the neighbouring countries, and that in particular the * Epirots had supplied

* It has been said above, that the Epirots had joined Perseus. Either there must be a fault here in the text, or part of the people of Epirus had continued in the Roman interest.

him with twenty thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley, which was to be paid for to their Ambassadors then at Rome. But that it was necessary to send him cloaths for the soldiers from Italy, and that he had occasion for two hundred Numidian horse, if they could be had. That the country where he was supplied him with nothing necessary to an army. All these articles were executed punctually and immediately.

Audience was afterwards given to a Lord of Macedonia, called Onesimus. He had always persuaded the King to continue the peace. And putting him in mind, that his father Philip, to the last day of his life; had always caused the treaty he had concluded with the Romans to be read to him twice every day, he had exhorted him to do the same, if not with the same regularity, at least from time to time. Not being able to dissuade him from the war, he at first had withdrawn from his counsels under different pretexts, that he might not be a witness of the resolutions taken in them, which he could not approve. At length finding that he was become suspected, and tacitly considered as a traitor, he took refuge amongst the Romans, and was of great service to the Consul. Having related all that has been said to the Senate, he was exceedingly well received, and the Senate gave him an honorable settlement at Tarentum, which was a fine house in the city, and two hundred acres of land in the country.

A. R. 583.
Ant. C.
169.

Liv. xliv.
16.

S E C T. III.

General concern at Rome in respect to the approaching election of Consuls. Paulus Æmilius is elected Consul with Licinius Crassus. Wise precautions of Paulus Æmilius. Embassy from Egypt to Rome. The Commissioners returned from Macedonia, give an account of the armies by sea and land. The departure of the Generals is hastened. Number of the forces. Attention in chusing the Legionary Tribunes. Speech of Paulus Æmilius to the People before his departure. Preparations of Perseus against the Romans. Different embassies of that Prince to Gentius, the Rhodians, Eumenes, and Antiochus. Perseus, through his avarice, deprives himself of the powerful aid of the Bastarnæ. Avarice and perfidy of Perseus in respect to Gentius. Rapid conquest of Illyricum by the Prætor Anicius. Perseus incamps advantageously. Paulus Æmilius re-instates discipline in his army. He discovers water in a place where it was wanting. News of the victory gained in Illyricum arrives. The Ambassadors of the Rhodians arrive in the camp. Paulus Æmilius deliberates upon the manner of attacking Perseus. He sends Scipio Nasica with a great detachment to seize Pythium. He amuses Perseus by slight skirmishes upon the banks of the Enipeus. Scipio seizes Pythium, and remains in possession of the pass. Perseus quits the Enipeus, and advances towards Pydna, resolved to venture a battle there. Paulus Æmilius wisely defers engaging. Sulpicius Gallus foretells an eclipse of the Moon to the Romans. Paulus Æmilius explains his reasons for deferring the battle. The battle is at last fought. Perseus is defeated and put to flight.

Q. MARCIUS II.

CN. SERVILIUS.

A. R. 583.
Ant. C.
169.
Plut. in
Æmil. p.
259, 260.

THE time of the assemblies for the election of Consuls approaching, every body was in pain concerning the person upon whom so important a choice would fall, and nothing else was talked of in
all

all conversations. People were not satisfied with the Consuls who for three years past had been employed against Perseus, who had but very indifferently supported the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous victories gained over Philip his father ; that powerful King of Macedonia, who had been obliged to implore peace : over Antiochus, a Prince whose famous exploits had acquired him the surname of the Great, who had been driven beyond mount Taurus, and forced to pay a great tribute ; and lastly, over a much more formidable enemy than any King upon earth, that is, over Hannibal, compelled some years before to quit Italy after a war of above sixteen years duration, and conquered in his own country almost at the very walls of Carthage. They conceived it a kind of disgrace for Rome, that its Consuls should be so long at blows with King Perseus, when he kept the field against them with only the miserable remains of his father's defeat. They did not know, that Philip had left Macedonia more powerful at his death, than it had been before his defeat.

A. R. 583.
Ant. C.
169.

It was evident, especially after the last news from Macedonia, that it was no longer a time to give the command of the armies to faction or favour ; and that it was necessary to employ the utmost attention in chusing a General, who had wisdom, experience, and valour ; in a word, who was capable of conducting a war so important as that now on foot.

All the world cast their eyes upon Paulus Æmilius. There are occasions when singular merit unites all suffrages in its favour ; and nothing is more soothing than such a judgment, founded, not upon birth or credit, but upon the knowledge of the services a person has already done ; upon the esteem which the troops have of his capacity, and the pressing occasion, which the State has of his wisdom and valour. Paulus Æmilius was near sixty years old : but age, without having at all impaired his strength, had only added to his character, maturity of counsel and prudence, still more necessary to a General than courage and bravery.

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Ant. C.
169.

He had been elected Consul for the first time fourteen years before, and having acquired general esteem by his good conduct, he had ended his Consulship with a glorious victory, which had gained him the honour of a triumph. As he found himself capable of serving his country, he had desired a second Consulship, and had even once stood for it with those who aspired at that office. The People had rejected him : and Paulus Æmilius, having lost that hope, substituted the sweets of repose to the splendor of employments. As Augur he applied himself solely to the affairs of religion ; and as a father, to the education of his children. He was very reserved and frugal in every thing that tended only to luxury and pomp, but noble and magnificent in respect to expences of honour and duty ; in consequence of which he spared nothing to procure them an education worthy of their birth. Grammarians, rhetoricians, philosophers, sculptors, painters, masters expert in breaking and managing horses ; hunters who taught youth the exercises of the chase ; in a word, he gave his sons all the aids and masters that were necessary in forming both their minds and bodies. When he was not employed in publick affairs, he would be present at their studies and exercises, * by these assiduous cares evincing, that of all the Romans he was the father, who had most love and tenderness for his children.

It were to be wished that this example were followed by all persons in high stations, who are indeed accountable for their time to the publick, but who are not thereby discharged from the cares, which they owe their children by a natural and imprescriptible right ; and the more as labouring for their instruction is serving the publick.

All the relations and friends of Paulus Æmilius pressed him to comply with the wishes of the People, who called upon him to accept the Consulship. As for himself, he had no thoughts but of shunning the Peo-

ple's ardour, as not caring for command, and chusing rather to confine himself to the quiet life he had led some time. However, when he saw that the people assembled every morning in crowds before his door, that they called upon him to go to the Forum, and exclaimed highly against his obstinate refusal, he could no longer resist such strong instances, and joined those who aspired at that dignity. This was matter of great joy and a kind of triumph to the Roman People, who considered, as a certain omen of victory over the enemy that which they had just gained over Paulus Æmilius, in forcing him to accept the Consulship. This honour was conferred upon him with unanimous consent. C. Licinius Crassus was given him for a Collegue. The People would not abandon the distribution of provinces to the caprice of chance, and decreed the command of the armies in Macedonia to Paulus Æmilius. Licinius commanded in Italy. Livy says however, that they did draw lots. But Plutarch's account seems more probable, for the lots might have rendered the people's intention and ardour useless.

It is said that Paulus Æmilius, on his return home attended by the people who followed him in a body to do him honour, found his daughter Tertia, then an infant, weeping. He kissed her and asked her the reason of her tears. Tertia clasping him in her little arms and kissing him: "You don't know then, father," said she, "that our Perseus is dead." She spoke of a little dog, which she had brought up, and called Perseus. Paulus Æmilius, struck with those words said to her: "And in good time, my dear child, I accept the omen with great pleasure." The Romans carried their superstition very high in respect to these accidental circumstances.

The manner in which Paulus Æmilius applied himself in preparing for the war, with which he was charged, gave room to judge of the success to be expected in consequence. Before he entered upon office, he demanded of the Senate, that commissioners should

A. R. 583.
Ant. C.
169. be sent into Macedonia to inspect the armies and fleets, and afterwards to make their report, when they had made an exact enquiry, of what they had learnt, and what augmentation of troops both for land and sea-service would be necessary. They were also to inform themselves, as far as possible, to what number the King's troops amounted; where they actually were; as well as those of the Romans: if the latter had their camp in the defiles of the mountains, or had entirely passed them, and were in the plain: what allies were assuredly to be relied on; who those were whose fidelity seemed doubtful and wavering; and what States were to be considered as declared enemies. For what time the army had provisions, and from whence they were to be brought either by land-carriage or in vessels. And lastly, what had passed during the last campaign, as well by land as sea. As an able and experienced General, he was desirous to enter into this detail, convinced that the plan of the campaign, upon which he was going to enter, could not be formed, nor the operations regulated without the knowledge of all these things. Persons skilled in military affairs, know of what value this foresight and exactness are, which cannot be carried too far. The Senate highly approved such wise measures, and nominated Commissioners approved by Paulus Æmilius, who set out two days after.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.

L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS II.

C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Liv. xliv.
19.

Paulus Æmilius and his Colleague entered upon office before the Commissioners returned. In that interval the Senate gave audience to the Ambassadors of Ptolemy and Cleopatra King and Queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome against the unjust enterprizes of Antiochus King of Syria. Three Deputies were sent into Egypt. This affair is related at length in the Antient History.

The Commissioners had used great diligence. On their return to Rome, they said : “ That Marcus had forced the passes of Macedonia, but with greater danger than advantage. That the King was master of Pieria, into which the Roman army had entered. That the two camps were very near each other, being only separated by the river Enipeus. That the King avoided a battle, and that the Roman army was not in a condition either to oblige him to fight or to force his lines. That, amongst other inconveniencies, the winter had proved very severe, was very sharply felt in a mountainous country, and made it utterly impossible to act; and that provisions only for a short time remained. That the Macedonian army was said to amount to thirty thousand men. That if Appius Claudius had had a sufficiently considerable body of troops in the neighbourhood of Lychmidum in Illyricum, where he was incamped, he would have been able to make a powerful diversion against Perseus: but that that General and the troops he had with him, were actually in great danger, if a considerable reinforcement were not immediately sent him, or he was not made to quit the post he occupied. That after having visited the camp, they had repaired to the fleet. That they had been informed, that part of the men had died of disease, and that those who escaped, especially the Sicilians, were returned home; and that the fleet was absolutely in the utmost want of seamen and soldiers: that those who had remained had not received their pay and were in want of cloaths. That Eumenes and his fleet, after having shewn themselves a little, had disappeared almost immediately without any good reasons that could be given for it; and that it seemed as if they neither could, nor ought to rely upon his disposition: but that as to Attalus his brother, his good will was not to be doubted.”

Upon this report of the Commissioners, the Senate decreed that the Consul should set out immediately for Macedonia, as well as the Prætor Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet, and L. Anicius,

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.

another Prætor, who was to succeed Appius Claudius in the neighbourhood of Lychnidum in Illyricum. The number of troops, which each of them was to command, was regulated in the following manner.

The troops, which composed the army of Paulus Æmilius, amounted to twenty five thousand eight hundred men; being two Roman legions each of six thousand foot and three hundred horse, which made twelve thousand six hundred men, more than that number of infantry, and double the cavalry of the Latin allies. The rest of the troops assigned him, were to reinforce garrisons. Those which composed the army of the Prætor Anicius, who was to command in Illyricum, amounted to twenty one thousand eight hundred men; being two Roman legions, each consisting of five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse; with ten thousand Latin infantry and eight hundred horse. The Prætor Octavius, admiral of the fleet, had five thousand men assigned him, who were to serve under him.

As it was proposed to terminate the war with Macedonia this year, all the precautions that could be imagined for the good of the service were taken. The Tribunes of the soldiers were the principal officers of the legion, and commanded it alternately. It was said, that none ought to be chosen for this employment, except such as had commanded, and of the forty-eight Tribunes, which were to be appointed for the eight legions, which the Commonwealth had on foot, Paulus Æmilius had the liberty of chusing such as he pleased, to the number of twelve for the two legions which were to serve under him.

Rome, it must be owned, acted on this occasion with great wisdom. She had, as we have seen elected with unanimous consent for Consul and General, the person who of all the Romans was indisputably the most able warrior of his time. She is now for raising officers to the post of Tribunes, who have the most merit, experience, and ability, proved by actual services; advantages, which are not always the effect either

ther of birth or seniority, and to which indeed the Romans were far from being much prejudiced. Rome does more, and by a singular exception, compatible with Republican Government, she gives Paulus Æmilius full power to chuse amongst the Tribunes such as he should approve; well knowing of what importance it is, that a perfect union should subsist between a General and the officers that serve under him; in order that the commands given by the first, who is in a manner the soul of the whole army, and ought to direct all its motions, be executed with the utmost exactness: which cannot be, if a perfectly good understanding, founded in the love of the publick good, does not prevail amongst them, which neither interest, ambition, nor jealousy are capable of interrupting.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.

After all these regulation had been made, the Consul Paulus Æmilius went from the Senate to the assembly of the People, and made the following speech. Liv. xliv. 22.

“ Romans, in charging me with the care of the war of Macedonia with unanimous consent, you seem to have conceived an almost certain hope, that this war, which has been spun out to a great length, will be terminated under my auspices to the glory of the Roman people. I hope, that I shall be supported by the protection of the Gods in so great an undertaking, and fulfil your desires: but this I may venture to assure you, that I shall use my utmost endeavours not to frustrate your expectation.

“ The Senate has wisely regulated every thing necessary for the expedition with which I am charged, and as it has ordered me to set out immediately, if I leave any thing undone in respect to the levy and departure of the troops allotted for me, I know that C. Licinius my Colleague, full of zeal for the publick good, and affection for me, will provide for it with the same ardor and expedition, as if it was for himself.

“ I shall take care to give you exact accounts of all that shall happen, and you may rely upon the certainty and truth of the news I shall send either
“ to

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
8.

“ to the Senate or you. But I desire as a favour,
“ that you will neither believe nor give weight by
“ your credulity to flying reports, and such as have
“ no certain author. For in the manner in which
“ things pass amongst you, especially since this war,
“ there is no General, let his constancy of mind be
“ what it will, whom the discourses held here would
“ not shake and discourage.

“ There are people, who in circles and conversa-
“ tions, and even at table, lead armies, regulate the
“ motions of the Consuls, and lay down all the ope-
“ rations of the campaign. They know better than
“ the General, who is upon the spot, where he should
“ incamp, and of what posts he should seize : where
“ it is proper to settle magazines : by what way, ei-
“ ther by sea or land, provisions must be brought :
“ when it is necessary to give the enemy battle, and
“ when to lie still. And they not only prescribe
“ what is best to be done, but if their plan be ever
“ so little departed from, they make it a crime in
“ the Consul, and cite him to their tribunal.

“ Know, Romans, that this licence taken at Rome,
“ is a great obstacle to the success of your arms and
“ the publick good. All your Generals have not
“ the steadiness and constancy of Fabius, who chose
“ rather to see his authority insulted by the rashness
“ of an indiscreet and frantick multitude, than to
“ ruin the affairs of the Commonwealth, by piquing
“ himself at a wrong time upon bravery to put a stop
“ to popular rumours.

“ I am far from believing that Generals have no
“ occasion to receive advice. On the contrary, I
“ think, that whoever desires to direct every thing by
“ his single abilities, and without taking counsel,
“ shews more presumption than wisdom. What then
“ may be reasonably required ? Why that none should
“ take upon themselves to obtrude their advice upon
“ your Generals, but those in the first place who are
“ versed in the art of war, and who have learnt by
“ experience what it is to command ; and secondly,
“ those

“ those who are upon the spot, who know the enemy, A. R. 584.
 “ are capable of judging of different conjunctures, Ant. C.
 “ and who, being in a manner embarked on board 168.
 “ the same vessel, share the same dangers with us.
 “ If therefore any one conceives himself capable of
 “ assisting me with his counsels in the war with which
 “ you have charged me, let him not refuse his services
 “ to the Commonwealth, but let him go along with me
 “ into Macedonia: ship, horses, tents, provisions, in
 “ a word, he shall have every thing at my expence.
 “ But, if he will not take these pains, and prefers
 “ the quiet life of the city to the dangers and fatigues
 “ of the camp, let him not take upon him to hold
 “ the helm, and remain idle in the port. If they
 “ have so great an itch for talking, the city, of itself,
 “ will supply them with sufficient matter: this is
 “ not within their sphere. In a word, I would have
 “ them know, that we shall have no regard to any
 “ counsels, but such as shall be given in the camp
 “ itself.”

It is not possible to conceive, how much this dis- Plut. in
 course, in which Paulus Æmilius spoke to his masters Paul.
 with a wise and noble loftiness, requiring of them not Æmil.
 to amuse themselves, according to their custom, in
 controuling the actions of their General, drew upon
 him their esteem and respect. Every citizen in par-
 ticular applauded himself for having had the courage
 to despise the flattery of those, who meanly solicited
 voices, in the choice of a Consul, and for having
 confided the command of the army to a man full of
 greatness of mind and freedom, who refused it: so
 much, says Plutarch, did the Roman People, for the
 sake of reigning over others, make themselves slaves
 to virtue and true merit.

For the rest, the abuse of which Paulus Æmilius
 complains in this discourse dictated by reason and
 good sense, shews us that men are in all times the same.
 They take a secret pleasure and make it a merit in
 themselves to examine, criticise, and condemn the
 conduct of Generals, and they do not perceive, that
 they

A. R. 584. they act manifestly contrary both to good sense and equity. Contrary to good sense: for what can be more absurd and ridiculous, than to see persons of no knowledge of war, and void of all experience, set themselves up for Censors of the most able Generals, and pass sentence upon their actions in the stile of masters. Contrary to equity: for even the most expert cannot judge properly of them without being upon the spot, the least circumstance of time, or place, the disposition of the troops, and even secret orders which are not known, being capable of absolutely changing the ordinary rules. But we are not to hope, that this fault will ever be corrected, which has its rise in the curiosity and vanity natural to man; and Generals act wisely, who, after the example of Paulus Æmilius, despise these city-rumors, and the tattle of idle people, who have generally more leisure than judgment.

Liv. xliv. 22. Paulus Æmilius, after having performed the duties of religion, set out for Macedonia with the Prætor Cn. Octavius, who was to command the fleet. Never was Consul, in departing for his province, attended by so great a multitude of citizens. From that instant, the Romans in general conceived a kind of assurance, that he would terminate the war of Macedonia, and soon return to Rome victorious and triumphant.

Polyb. Legat. 85. Liv. xliv. 23—25. Whilst preparations of war had been making at Rome, Perseus on his side had not been inactive. The fear of the approaching danger with which he was threatened, having at length taken place of his avarice, he agreed to give Gentius King of Illyricum three hundred talents of silver (three hundred thousand crowns) and to purchase his alliance at that price.

At the same time he sent Ambassadors to Rhodes, convinced that if that island, which was then so powerful by sea, should join him, Rome would be highly distressed. He sent others also to Eumenes and Antiochus, the two greatest Kings of Asia, who were highly

highly capable of aiding him. It was wise in Perseus to take these measures, and to endeavour to strengthen himself by such supports: but he thought of them too late. He should have began there, and laid the foundation of his enterprize in those alliances. He did not seriously think of calling in those remote powers, till the danger was too near; which was rather to call in spectators and associates in his ruin, than aid and supports. The instructions, which he gave his Ambassadors were very solid, and highly capable of convincing, as we shall soon see: but he should have used them, three years before, and waited the effect of them, before he had embarked alone in a war against so powerful a people, who had so many resources in their misfortunes.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
163.

The Ambassadors had the same instructions for Eumenes and Antiochus. They represented to them, “ that there was a natural enmity between Monarchies and Commonwealths. That the Roman People attacked the Kings one after the other; and to make the indignity as great as possible, employed the forces of the Kings themselves to ruin each other successively. That they had crushed his father Philip by the aid of Attalus; that by that of Eumenes, and partly also by that of Philip, Antiochus had been subdued; and that they had actually armed Eumenes and Prusias against Perseus himself. That when the kingdom of Macedonia should be destroyed, it would be Asia’s turn next, of which they had already possessed themselves of a part, under the specious pretext of reinstating the cities in their antient liberty; and that Syria would soon after have the same fate. That they already began to set Prusias above Eumenes by peculiar distinctions of honour; and that they had * obliged Antiochus to renounce the fruit of his victories in Egypt. Perseus exhorted them, either to prevail upon the Romans to leave Macedonia in peace; or, if they per-

* The fact, to which these words allude, will be related in the beginning of the next book.

A. R. 584. severed in the unjust design of making war upon him;
 Ant. C. to consider them as the common enemies of all Kings."
 168. The Ambassadors acted openly, and without evasions
 with Antiochus.

As to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with the pretext of ransoming prisoners, and treated only in secret concerning the real cause of it. There had already been many conferences at different times, and in different places, upon that head, which had made that Prince very much suspected by the Romans. It was not at bottom, because Eumenes desired, that Perseus might be victorious over the Romans: the enormous power which he would have had in consequence would have given him umbrage, and not a little inflamed his jealousy. Neither was he inclined to declare openly, or to declare war, against him. But, believing that both parties were equally inclined to peace, Perseus through fear of the misfortunes that might happen to him, and the Romans through disgust of a war that had already been spun out to a very great length; his view was to be a mediator of this peace, and to sell his mediation, or at least his inaction and neutrality dear to Perseus. The price was already agreed upon, which was a thousand talents (about an hundred and fifty thousand pounds) not to give the Romans any aid either by sea or land, and fifteen hundred talents (two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds) to prevail upon them to give Perseus peace. The only dispute that remained, was about the time of payment. Perseus was for staying till the service was done, and in the mean time to deposite the money in the island of Samothracia. Eumenes did not think the sum thereby sufficiently secured to him; because Samothracia was dependant upon Perseus, and he insisted that part of the money should be immediately paid down. This broke up the treaty, which was neither for the honour of the one or the other.

Plut. in
 Paul.
 Æmil.
 260, 261.

Perseus failed also in another, which would not have been less to his advantage. He had caused a body of Gaulish troops to march to his aid from the other side
 of

A.R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.
Liv. xlv.
26, 27.

of the Danube, consisting of ten thousand horse and as many foot, and he had agreed to give ten pieces of gold to each of the horse, five to each foot soldier, and a thousand to their General. These Gauls were the same, of whom we have spoken already under the name of the Bastarnæ, a Gaulish Colony settled upon the banks of the Borysthenes, now called the Nieper. This nation was not accustomed either to till the ground, feed cattle, or to trade; they lived by war, and sold their service to such States as would employ them. When he received advice, that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions, he went to meet them with half his troops, and gave orders, that the towns and villages, through which they were to pass, should have provisions prepared for them in abundance, as corn, wine and cattle. He had some presents for the principal officers, as horses, furniture, arms, and vests. To this he added some money, which was to be distributed amongst a few. And as to the multitude, he believed that the hopes of something future would suffice to attract them. The King stopped near the river * Axius, and encamped there with his troops.

He deputed Antigonus, one of the principal persons of his court, to the Gauls, who were about five and twenty leagues from thence. Antigonus was surprized, when he saw men of extraordinary stature dexterous in all the exercises of the body, expert in the use of arms, haughty and bold in expressions, and full of menaces and bravadoes. He dwelt much upon the orders his master had given for their good reception in all the places through which they should pass, and the presents he had prepared for them: he afterwards invited them to advance to a certain place, which he mentioned, and to send their principal persons to the King. The Gauls were not people to be paid with words. Clondicus the Chief and King of these strangers, proceeded directly to the point, and asked whe-

* In Mygdonia,

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.

ther he had brought the money agreed upon. As no positive answer was given him; "Go," said he, "tell your Prince, that till he sends the hostages and money agreed on, the Gauls shall not stir from hence." The King on the return of his Deputy assembled his council. He foresaw their opinions; and as he was a much better guardian of his money, than of his kingdom, to cloak his avarice he expatiated very much upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls, adding that it would be dangerous to suffer so great a multitude of them to enter Macedonia, from whom every thing was to be apprehended, and that five thousand of their horse would suffice. Every body saw, that he was only in fear for his money, but no body ventured to contradict him.

Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them, that his master had occasion for only five thousand horse. On those words a general murmur and rage arose against Perseus, who had made them come so far to insult them. Clondicus having again asked Antigonus, whether he brought money for the five thousand horse, as the latter sought evasions, and did not answer to the purpose, the Gauls were in the highest fury, and were very near falling upon him to cut him in pieces, which he himself very much apprehended. However they respected the quality of Deputy, and dismissed him without any bad treatment. The Gauls set out immediately, resumed their route to the Danube, and ravaged Thrace, which was on their way.

Perseus, with so considerable a reinforcement, might have given the Romans no small trouble. He might have made these Gauls enter Thessaly, where they might have plundered the flat country, and taken the strongest places. In consequence, by continuing quiet near the river Enipeus, he would have made it impracticable for the Romans either to have penetrated into Macedonia, of which he shut up the entrance by his troops, or of subsisting longer in the country, because they could not, as before, have had

their provisions from Theffaly, which would have been entirely laid waste. Avarice, which was his ruling passion, prevented him from using so great an advantage.

It also prevented him from the benefit he might have had from another alliance, upon which he ought to have set a great value. Pressed by the state of his affairs, and the extreme danger that menaced him, he had at last consented to give Gentius the three hundred talents he had asked above an year for raising troops and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had negotiated this treaty for the King of Macedonia, and had began by advancing the Illyrian Prince ten talents (ten thousand crowns) of the sum promised him. Gentius made his Ambassadors set out, and with them trusty persons to bring away the rest of the money. He also ordered them, when every thing should be terminated, to join the Ambassadors of Perseus, and to go with them to Rhodes, in order to induce that Republick to make an alliance with them. Pantauchus had represented to him, that if the Rhodians came in to it, Rome could not hold out against the three powers united. Perseus received these Ambassadors with all possible marks of distinction. After hostages had been exchanged on both sides, and the usual oaths taken, it only remained to deliver the two hundred and ninety talents. The Ambassadors and Agents of the Illyrian Prince repaired to Pella, where the money was told out to them, and put into chests; sealed with the seal of the Ambassadors in order to its being carried to Illyricum. This seemed to make it secure enough for Gentius. Perseus had given secret directions to those, who were to carry it, to move slowly and by short days journeys, and, when they should arrive on the frontiers of Macedonia, to stop there and to wait his orders. During all this time, Pantauchus, who had remained at the court of Illyricum, pressed the King very much to declare against the Romans by some act of hostility. Gentius had already received ten talents by way of earnest, and having been advised

Liv. xliv.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.
72.
Plut. in
Paul. 261.

A. R. 584. that the whole sum was upon the road, he reckoned
 Ant. C. it already in his coffers. Upon the repeated instances
 168. of Pantauchus, in violation of all rights human and
 divine, he imprisoned two Roman Ambassadors, which
 were then at his court, under pretext that they were
 spies.

As soon as Perseus had received the news of this step, believing him sufficiently and irretrievably embroiled with the Romans in effect, he made those who carried the three hundred talents return, congratulating himself secretly upon the success of his perfidy, which had saved his money. But he only kept it and laid it up for the enemy, whereas he ought to have used it for defending himself against, and conquering them. He ought to have known that it was the maxim of Philip and Alexander, the most illustrious of his predecessors, "That victory should be purchased with money, and " money not saved at the expence of victory."

The Ambassadors of Perseus and Gentius being arrived at Rhodes, were highly well received. The decree was imparted to them, by which the Republick had resolved to employ its whole credit, and all its forces to oblige the two parties to make peace, and to declare against that which should refuse to enter into an accommodation.

At the beginning of the spring, the Roman Generals had repaired to their respective provinces: the Consul to Macedonia, Octavius to Oreum with the fleet, and Anicius to Illyricum.

Liv. xliv. The success of the last was as rapid as happy. He
 30—32. was to make war against Gentius. He terminated it, before Rome knew that it was began. It continued only thirty days. As soon as he entered Illyricum, all the cities submitted to him with the more ease, as he treated the conquered with abundance of clemency and justice. Gentius shut himself up in Scodra, his capital: and having made a sally without success, he lost courage, and came to throw himself at the feet of Anicius, imploring his mercy, and confessing, with tears in his eyes, his fault, or rather phrenzy, in hav-

ing

ing taken arms against the Romans. The Prætor treated him with humanity. His first care was to take the two Ambassadors out of prison. He sent one of them, called Perperna, to Rome with the news of his victory; and some few days after, caused Gentius, his mother, wife, children, brother, with the principal Lords of the country, to be carried thither. The sight of such illustrious prisoners highly increased the people's joy. Publick thanksgivings were made to the Gods, and great crowds of persons of all ages and sexes went to the temples.

Paulus Æmilius did not remain inactive on his side. When he approached the enemy, he found Perseus advantageously incamped near the sea at the foot of mount Olympus, in places that seemed inaccessible. He had the Enipeus before him, which might be forded, but its banks were very high; and on that which was on his side, he had raised good works with towers from space to space, where he had planted ballistas, and other machines to discharge darts and stones upon the enemy, if they ventured to approach them. Perseus had so fortified himself here, that he believed himself in absolute security, and was in hopes of wasting, and at length of discouraging Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would have in subsisting his troops, and maintaining his ground, in an enemy's country.

He did not know what kind of an adversary was sent against him. Paulus Æmilius was solely intent upon preparing every thing for an action, and continually mediated every kind of expedient for rendering all the enemy's precautions ineffectual. He began by establishing a strict and severe discipline in his army, which had been corrupted by the licentiousness in which it had been suffered to live. He reformed many things, as well in respect to the manner in which the General's orders were to be distributed in the army, as to the sentinels and guards. The soldiers had been accustomed to criticize upon their General, to examine into all his actions, to prescribe him his duty, and to

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.

Plut. in
Paul. Æm.
Liv. xliv.
32.

Liv. xliv.
33, 34.
Plut.

A. R. 584. lay down what he was, and was not, to do. He
 Ant. C. spoke to them with steadiness and dignity, as he had
 168. done at Rome to the citizens. He gave them to understand, “ that such discourses ill became a soldier : that he ought to be intent only upon three things, the care of his body, to render it robust and active ; of his arms, in order that they might always be clean and in good condition ; and to have always provisions drest, that he might be ready to march on the first notice. That as to the rest, he ought to rely upon the goodness of the Immortal Gods, and the General’s vigilance. That as to him, he should omit nothing that might be necessary to give them occasion to shew their courage : that they had only to take care to do their duty well, when the signal should be given them.”

When things are reasonable in themselves, and are spoke with an air of dignity and authority, they always make impression. It cannot be expressed, how much this discourse, though mixed with a kind of reprimand, pleased and animated the troops. The old soldiers declared, that they had not learnt their duty till that day. A wonderful change was soon perceived in the camp. No body was idle in it. The soldiers were seen sharpening their swords, polishing their helmets, cuirasses and bucklers ; practising to move nimbly under arms, brandishing their javelins, and handling their naked swords ; in a word, breaking and inuring themselves to all the military exercises ; so that it was easy to judge, that on the first occasion they should have of coming to blows with the enemy, they were determined to conquer or die.

Liv. xliv. The camp was situated very advantageously in all
 33. respects, except the want of water, which was a
 Plut. great inconvenience to the army. Paulus Æmilius, whose presence of mind extended to every thing, seeing mount Olympus before him very high, and covered with very branching green trees, judged from the number and quality of them, that there must necessarily be springs in the earth of that mountain,
 and

and gave orders to open the ground at the bottom, and to dig pits in the sand. They had not dug far before streams of water appeared from several sources, at first muddy in small quantity, but soon after very clear and abundant. This event, which was merely natural, was considered by the soldiers, as a singular favour of the Gods, who had taken Paulus Æmilius under their protection, which made him still more the object of their affection and respect.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.

When Perseus saw what passed in the Roman camp, the ardor of the soldiers, the pains they took, and the exercises by which they were preparing for battle, he was not a little anxious, and plainly perceived, that he had no longer to do with a Licinius, an Hostilius, or a Marcius, and that every thing was changed in the Roman army with the General. He redoubled his cares and attention on his side, animated the soldiers, applied himself also in forming them by different exercises, added new intrenchments to the old ones, and spared no pains to cover his camp from insult.

In the mean time arrived the news of the victory gained over the Illyrians, and of the taking of the King with his whole family. This occasioned incredible joy in the Roman army, and an extreme ardor amongst the soldiers to signalize themselves in the same manner on their side. For it is common between two armies, that act in different parts, for the one to be unwilling to give place to the other in valour and glory. Perseus at first endeavoured to suppress this news: but the care he took to disguise it, served only to make it more publick and certain. The alarm spread universally amongst his troops, and made them dread a like fate.

Liv. xliv.
34, 35.

It was at this time, that the Rhodian Ambassadors came to make the same proposal to Paulus Æmilius, which had excited such great indignation in the Senate at Rome. It is easy to judge in what manner it was received in the camp. Some, transported with rage, were for having them dismissed with insult. The

Ibid. 35.

A. R. 584. Consul thought his contempt was better expressed, by
 Ant. C. telling them coldly, that he would give them an an-
 168. swer in fifteen days.

Liv. xliv. To shew the little regard he had for the pacifick
 35. mediation of the Rhodians, he assembled his council of war, to deliberate upon measures for entering upon action. Some were for endeavouring to force the intrenchments of the enemy upon the banks of the Enipeus: they declared that the Macedonians, who had been driven the year before from higher and better fortified places, could not sustain the charge of the Roman Legions. Others were of opinion, that Octavius, with the fleet, should go to Thessalonica to ravage the sea-coast, in order to oblige the King, by that diversion, to withdraw part of his troops from the Enipeus for the defence of his country, and thereby leave some pass open. It is of great importance for an able and experienced General to be at liberty to act according to the dictates of his own judgment. Paulus Æmilius had quite different views. He saw that the bank of the Enipeus, as well by its natural situation, as the fortifications that had been added to it, was inaccessible. Besides which, he knew, not to mention the machines planted on all sides, that the enemy's troops were much more expert than his in discharging javelins and arrows. To undertake forcing such impenetrable lines, had been to expose the troops to slaughter; and a good General spares the blood of his soldiers, because he considers himself as their father, and believes he owes them the same care as he does his children.

He therefore lay still during some days without making the least motion. In all other times the soldiers, full of ardour and impatience, would have murmured: but Paulus Æmilius had taught them to acquiesce in his conduct. At length, in effect of enquiring and gaining intelligence, he was informed by two Parrhæbian merchants, whose prudence and fidelity were known to him, that there was a way which led to Pythium, a place situated upon

upon the top of mount Olympus ; that this way was not of difficult access, but that it was well guarded : Perseus had sent a detachment of five thousand men thither. Paulus Æmilius conceived, that if this body of troops could be surprized by a sudden and unforeseen attack, it would perhaps be easy to drive them out of that post, and to seize it.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
163.

The question was to amuse the enemy, and conceal his design. He sent for the Prætor Octavius, and having opened himself to him, he ordered him to go to Heraclea with his fleet, and to take with him provision enough for a thousand men for ten days ; in order to make Perseus believe, that his intent was to ravage the sea-coast. At the same time he made Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, set out with Fabius Maximus his son, then very young ; gave them a detachment of five thousand chosen troops, and made them take their route for the sea towards Heraclea, as if they were to embark there, as had been proposed in the council of war. When they were arrived, Nasica imparted the orders he had received to the principal officers. As soon as it was night, they quitted the way towards the sea, and advanced without halting towards Pythium over the rocks and mountains, conducted by the Parrhæbian guides. They had concerted to arrive there the third day, and to attack the fort towards the end of the night.

In the mean time Paulus Æmilius, to amuse the enemy, and to employ him in such a manner by present objects, that he might have no thoughts of any thing else, the next day early in the morning detached his light-armed troops to attack the Macedonians, who guarded the entrance of the river, the declivity of whose banks on each side were three hundred paces in depth from the top to the bottom, and the stream was above a thousand broad. It was in this space that the action passed in view of the King and the Consul, who were each with their troops in the front of their camp. The Consul caused the retreat to be sounded

A. R. 584. about noon. The loss was very near equal on both
 Ant. C. sides. The next day the battle began again in the
 168. same manner, and almost at the same hour: but it
 was warmer, and continued longer. The Romans
 had not only to do with those, with whom they were
 engaged; but sustained a shower of darts and stones
 discharged upon them by the enemy from the tops of
 the towers disposed along the shore. The Consul lost
 abundance more men this day, and made his troops
 retire later. The third day Paulus Æmilius lay still,
 and seemed to intend to attempt another passage nearer
 the sea. Perseus did not in the least suspect the dan-
 ger, that threatened him.

Plut. in Scipio arrived in the night of the third day near
 Æmil. Pythium. His troops were much fatigued; and he
 rested them during the remainder of the night. The
 Macedonian officers, who guarded the pass at Py-
 thium, were so negligent, that nobody perceived the
 approach of the Romans. Scipio, according to Poly-
 bius, found them asleep, and had no difficulty to dis-
 lodge them from that post. Most of them were kil-
 led: the rest escaped by flight, and carried terror into
 the camp.

Plut. ibid. Perseus seized with dread, and apprehending that
 the Romans, after having opened themselves that pas-
 sage, would attack him in the rear, immediately de-
 camped for his greater security. He afterwards held
 a great council upon the measures it was necessary to
 take. The question was to know whether he should
 stop before the walls of Pydna, an adjacent and well
 fortified city, to try the event of a battle, or divide
 his troops into the places of strength, and expect the
 enemy there, who could not subsist long in a country,
 which he should take care to destroy, and which could
 supply neither forage for the horses, nor provisions
 for the men. This last method had great inconve-
 niences, and argued a Prince reduced to the last ex-
 tremity, without either resource or hope; not to men-
 tion the hatred, which the ravaging of the lands,
 commanded and executed by the King in person,
 would

would excite against him. Accordingly the principal officers represented to him, that his army was much superior to that of the Romans; that the troops were resolved to do their duty well, being to defend their wives and children; that being himself the witness of all their actions, and fighting at their head, they would behave with double vigour, and emulate each other in giving proofs of their valour. These reasons re-animated the Prince. He retired under the walls of Pydna, established his camp there, prepared to give battle, forgot nothing for his advantage that the situation of places would afford, assigned each their posts, and gave all the necessary orders, resolved to attack the Romans as soon as they should appear.

A.R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.

In the mean time Paulus Æmilius having joined Scipio's detachment, marched against the enemy in order of battle, keeping always along the coast of the sea, from whence the Roman fleet sent him provisions in small barks. When he came in view of the Macedonians, and had considered the good disposition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted to consider upon what he had to do.

The place where Perseus was incamped was an open level country, very proper for drawing up in battle a body of heavy-armed foot, as the phalanx was. On the right and left were small eminences, which being contiguous to each other, afforded a secure retreat to the light-infantry and troops armed with missile weapons, and gave them means to conceal their motions, and to surround the enemy by attacking them on the flanks.

It was now the hottest part of the summer, and near noon. The Roman troops had made a long march, in a way full of dust, and burnt up by the sun. Their heat and weariness were evident; and at this time of the day, it was plain that both must increase. Paulus Æmilius resolved therefore, for all these considerations, not to bring them to blows with an enemy entirely fresh and reposed.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.

But the desire of fighting was so warm in both armies, that the Consul had no less difficulty to elude the ardor of his own soldiers, than to repel that of the enemy. As they were not all drawn up in battle yet, he affected to order the Tribunes to repair each to his post. He ran through the ranks, exhorting his troops to do their duty well. And at first they demanded the signal with great eagerness. But insensibly and in proportion as the sun grew hotter, the air of their countenances appeared less animated, the tone of their voices grew fainter, and some of them, already fatigued, even leaned upon their shields and javelins. He then openly commanded the Captains of the legions to mark out a camp, and to post the baggage. The soldiers were rejoiced to find, that their General was not for leading them on to battle, tired and fatigued as they were.

The Consul had around him his Lieutenants, and the commanders of the foreign troops, amongst whom was Attalus; who all approved his design of fighting, as they supposed; for they did not yet know his thoughts. When they saw he had changed his opinion, they all remained silent. Scipio, whose courage and boldness were much increased by his late success on mount Olympus, was the only one who ventured to speak, and to make warm instances to him. He represented, “ that the Generals who had preceded him, had given the enemy by their delays occasion to escape out of their hands. That it was to be feared, that Perseus would fly in the night, and that they should be obliged to pursue him with great pains and danger across the impenetrable defiles of the mountains of Macedonia, as had happened in the past years. He therefore advised him, whilst the enemy was in the open field, to attack him directly, and not to lose so fair an occasion of defeating him.”

“ Formerly,” replied the Consul to Nasica, “ I had the same way of thinking as you have now, and you will one day think as I do at present. I will give you the reasons for my conduct at another time ;

“ time; till when, rely upon the prudence of an old
 “ General.” The young officer said no more, well
 persuaded that the Consul had good reasons for acting
 as he did.

A.R. 584.
 Ant. C.
 168.

On saying this, he commanded, that the troops, who were at the head of the army in the view of the enemy, should draw up in battle, and present a front as with design to engage. They were disposed, according to the custom of the Romans, in three lines. At the same time the pioneers, covered by those troops, were at work in forming a camp. As the workmen were very numerous, the intrenchments were soon finished. The Consul then made his battalions file off gradually, beginning by the rear, which was next the workmen, and drew his whole army off into his intrenchments without confusion, disorder, or its being in the enemy's power to prevent it. The King, on his side, after having continued in order of battle during that day, made his troops also return into their camp, not omitting to observe to them, that it was the enemy who had declined fighting.

It * was an inviolable rule with the Romans, whether they were to stay but one day or night in a place, to shut themselves up in a camp, and to fortify it well. They thereby avoided all insult, and prevented all surprise. The soldiers considered this military abode as their city: the intrenchments served them instead of walls, and the tents for houses. In case of a battle, if the army was defeated, the camp served it for a retreat and an asylum; and if it was victorious, it found there a place of rest.

When the Romans were safe within their works, C. Liv. xliv.
 Sulpicius Gallus, Tribune of the second legion, who^{37.}
 had been Prætor the year before, with the Consul's Plut. in
 permission, assembled the soldiers, and informed them, Æmil.

* Majores vestri castra munita portum ad omnes casus exercitus ducebant esse—Patria est militaris hæc sedes, vallumque pro mœnibus, & tentorium suum cuique militi domus ac penates sunt—Castrasunt victori receptaculum, victo perfugium. Liv. xliv. 39.

A. R. 584. “ that the same night there would be an eclipse of the
 Ant. C. moon from the second hour of the night to the fourth,
 168. in order that they might not be terrified, as at a prodigy, by a phænomenon which happened at certain periodical times, from causes merely natural, and for which reason, it was easy to foresee and declare it beforehand. That therefore, as they were not surprized at the rising and setting of the sun and moon, because both happened at certain known hours, no more than at the inequalities which they were accustomed to see in the disk of the moon, which was sometimes greater and sometimes less; so they ought not to consider the darkening of that star as a prodigious event, which was occasioned only by the shadow of the earth that hid it from our sight.”

This eclipse, which happened in the night upon the third or * fourth of August, caused Sulpicius to be considered by all the soldiers of the Roman army, as a man inspired by the Gods; and filled the Macedonians with terror; as if it had been a prognostick of the ruin of the kingdom and of the whole nation. Nothing was heard in their camp but cries and howling, till the moon recovered its usual light.

The next day at sun-rise, Paulus Æmilius, who was a very religious observer of all the ceremonies prescribed in the sacrifices, or who rather was very superstitious, applied himself in offering oxen to Hercules. He sacrificed twenty, one after another, without being able to find any favourable sign in those victims. At last, in the one-and-twentieth, he imagined he saw one that promised him victory, if he only acted upon the defensive, and did not attack. At the same time he made a vow to sacrifice an hundred oxen to that God, and to celebrate public games in honour of him.

Liv. xliv. Having finished all these ceremonies of religion
 38. about nine in the morning, he assembled the council
 Plut.

* The reader may consult Mr. Crevier's note 30 upon book xliv. of Livy.

of war. He had heard the complaints which were made of his slowness in attacking the enemy. He thought fit, in this assembly, to give an account of his conduct, especially in respect to Scipio, to whom he had promised it. "His principal reasons for not giving battle the night before, were: First, because the enemy's army was much superior in number to his own, which he had been obliged to weaken considerably by the great detachment necessary for guarding the baggage. In the second place, would it have consisted with prudence to have engaged troops quite fresh, with his who were exhausted by a long and painful march, by the excessive weight of their arms, by the scorching heat of the sun, and by the thirst which gave them great torment?" In the last place, he strongly insisted upon the indispensable necessity for a good General not to give battle, before he has a camp well intrenched behind him, which in case of accident, may serve as a retreat for the army. He concluded his discourse with bidding them prepare for a battle the same day.

A.R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.

We here * see the difference between the duty of soldiers and subordinate officers, and that of a General. The first have only to desire to fight and to act well in battle: but it is the General's part, who ought to foresee, weigh, and compare every thing, not to resolve without the most mature deliberation. And often, by a wise delay of some days, or even of some hours, he saves an army, which an inconsiderate ardour would have exposed to the danger of perishing.

Though both sides had resolved to give battle, it was however rather a kind of chance that brought them to blows than the order of the Generals, who were not in haste to engage on either side. Some Thracian soldiers charged some Romans on their return from foraging. Seven hundred Ligurians ran to the aid of those foragers. The Macedonians made

Liv. xlii.
40, 41.
Plut.

* Divisa inter exercitum ducesque munia. Militibus cupidinem pugnandi convenire: duces providendo, consultando, cunctatione sepius quam temeritate prodesse. TACIT. Hist. iii. 20.

A. R. 584. some troops advance to sustain the Thracians ; and the
 Ant. C. reinforcements sent to both sides continually augment-
 168. ing, the battle at length became general.

It is a misfortune that we have lost the passage, in which Polybius, and Livy after him, described the order of this battle. This makes me incapable of giving a just idea of it ; what Plutarch says of it being quite different from the little that remains of it in Livy.

The charge being given, the Macedonian phalanx distinguished themselves in a particular manner from the rest of the King's troops. Paulus Æmilius then advanced to the front, and found that the Macedonians, who formed the front of the phalanx, thrust the ends of their pikes into the shields of his soldiers, so that the latter, whatever efforts they made, could not reach them with their swords ; and at the same time he saw the whole front-line of the enemy had their shields joined together with their pikes presented. This rampart of brass and forest of pikes impenetrable to his legions, filled him with astonishment and dread. He often spoke afterwards of the impression that terrible sight made upon him, so as to give him reason to apprehend being defeated. But, not to discourage his troops, he concealed his anxiety from them, and assuming a gay and serene aspect, rode through all the ranks without helmet or cuirass, animating them by his words, and still more by his example. The General, above sixty years old, was seen exposing himself to fatigue and danger like a young officer.

The * Peligni, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their utmost efforts, one of their officers took the ensign of his company, and threw it into the midst of the enemy. The soldiers upon that sprung forwards like men in despair to avoid the shame of losing their colours. Unheard

* A people of Italy, who, as allies, furnished the Romans with troops.

of actions of valour in consequence passed on both sides with dreadful slaughter. The Peligni endeavoured to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their swords, to force them to give way with their shields, to pull them out of their order with their hands, and to thrust them aside in order to open themselves an entrance. But the Macedonians keeping close order continually, and holding their pikes in both hands, presented a rampart of iron, and gave such wounds to those who advanced upon them, as, penetrating their shields and armour, laid the boldest of the Peligni dead at their feet, who rushed on regardless of danger, like wild beasts, spitting themselves on their spears, and precipitating upon a death which they saw before their eyes.

The whole front-line being in consequence put into disorder, the second began to slacken and be discouraged. Paulus Æmilius saw with extreme grief, that his first troops had given way, and that the Romans did not dare to attack the phalanx. It presented a terrible front covered with long pikes in close order: and there seemed no means possible either for breaking or opening it. But at length the inequality of the ground, and the great extent of the front of battle, not permitting the enemy to continue this front of shields and pikes every where, Paulus Æmilius observed, that the phalanx of the Macedonians was forced to leave openings and spaces, and that it remained backwards on one side, whilst it advanced on the other. The Consul, like an able General that observed every thing, and who knew how to improve the occasion the instant it arose, dividing his troops into small parties, ordered them to throw themselves into the void spaces in the enemy's line of battle, and to attack them no longer in a body in front, but by detached troops, and at different places all at once.

This order, given so opportunely, occasioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans at first threw themselves into the spaces, and thereby made the enemy incapable of using their long pikes. They took them

in

A. R. 384.
Ant. C.
168.

A.R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.

in flank and rear where they were uncovered. The phalanx was immediately broke, and its whole strength, which consisted solely in its union, and the effort it made in a body, vanished and was no more. When they came to fight hand to hand, or in seperate platoons, the Macedonians with their little swords gave but weak strokes upon the shields of the Romans, which were strong and solid, and covered them almost from head to foot : and on the contrary, they opposed only small bucklers to the swords of the Romans, which were heavy and strong, and handled with such force and impetuosity, that they never discharged a stroke, that did not pierce, and break bucklers and armour in pieces, and make the blood appear. The phalanx being thus taken at disadvantage, resisted but weakly, and were at last entirely broke and put to the rout.

The King of Macedonia abandoning himself to his fear, had rode off full speed from the beginning of the battle, and retired into the city of Pydna, under pretext of sacrificing to Hercules : as if, says Plutarch, Hercules was a God to receive the abject sacrifices of cowards, and to hear impious vows : for it is not just that he, who dares not face an enemy, should gain a victory : whereas that God received the prayers of Paulus Æmilius favourably, because he implored victory sword in hand, and made himself worthy of it by fighting valiantly.

It was in attacking the phalanx, that the greatest effort was made, and from which the Romans found most resistance. And it was there also, that Cato's son, the son-in-law of Paulus Æmilius, after having performed prodigies of valour, unfortunately lost his sword, which had slipped out of his hand. On this accident, out of his senses and inconsolable, he ran through the ranks, and drawing together a body of bold and determinate young persons, he fell with the utmost impetuosity, and in a manner desperate, upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts and an horrible slaughter, he pushed them, and remained master

master of the ground, when himself and his followers sought for his sword, which was not found at last without great difficulty, under heaps of arms and dead bodies. Transported with this good fortune, and raising cries of victory, they threw themselves with new ardour upon such of the enemy as maintained their ground; so that at length a body of three thousand chosen Macedonians who were the flower of the nation for strength and courage, was entirely cut to pieces, without one of them quitting their rank, or ceasing to fight to their last breath.

After the defeat of this body all the rest fled, and so great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain, to the foot of the mountain, was covered with their bodies. It is said, that on the side of the Macedonians above five and twenty thousand perished: the Romans lost only an hundred men. (This seems very improbable; and perhaps there may have been some error in the cyphers.) They took eleven or twelve thousand prisoners.

The cavalry, who had not acted in the battle, seeing the defeat of the foot, had retired, and the Romans, in their fury against the troops of the phalanx, had no thoughts at that time of pursuing them.

This great battle was decided in so short a time, that it began about three in the afternoon, and victory declared for the Romans before four. The rest of the day was passed in pursuing those who fled, which was done so far, that the troops did not return till late in the night. All the servants of the army ran out to meet their masters with great cries of joy, and lighted them with torches to their tents, where they had made illuminations, and covered them with * festoons of ivy and crowns of lawrel.

But in the midst of this joy, the General was in extreme affliction. Of the two sons which he had in

Liv. xliv.
44.
Plut.

* This was the custom of the Romans. Cæsar observes in the third book of the Civil War, that in Pompey's camp he found the tents of Lentulus and some others covered with ivy. *L. etiam Lentuli & nonnullorum tabernacula proteſta hederâ.*

A.R. 584. this battle, the youngest, who was but seventeen years
 Ant. C. of age, and whom he loved the most tenderly, be-
 168. cause he even then gave great hopes of his future
 merit, was missing. It was apprehended that he was
 killed. The camp was in a general alarm, and
 changed their cries of joy into a mournful silence.
 He was sought for amongst the dead with torches,
 but ineffectually. At last, when it was late in the
 night, and every body despaired of finding him, he
 returned from the pursuit, accompanied only by two
 of his companions, covered with the blood of the
 enemy. Paulus Æmilius thought to have found him
 amongst the dead, and did not taste the joy of his vic-
 tory till that moment. He was reserved for other
 tears and losses no less sensible. The young Roman,
 of whom we are speaking, was the second Scipio, who
 was afterwards surnamed Africanus and Numantinus,
 for having ruined Carthage and Numantia. He had
 been adopted by the son of Scipio Africanus. The
 Consul immediately made three couriers of distinction
 set out, (Fabius his eldest son was one of them) to
 carry the news of this victory.

S E C T. IV.

*Perseus flies from Pella to Amphipolis, and from thence
 into the island of Samothracia. The Consul marches in
 pursuit of that Prince. Perseus's letter to Paulus Æmi-
 lius. The Roman fleet anchors at Samothracia. Evan-
 der of Crete is accused and cited before the judges. The
 King causes him to be killed. He contrives to escape;
 and is betrayed by Oroandes. He surrenders himself to
 Octavius, who causes him to be carried to the Consul.
 Paulus Æmilius receives him and speaks mildly to him.
 Discourse of Paulus Æmilius to the young Romans. End
 of the war and of the kingdom of Macedonia. Fate of
 that kingdom. News of the victory of Paulus Æmilius
 brought to Rome. Commissioners appointed for Macedo-
 nia and Illyricum. Regulations in respect to those two*

new

new conquests. Anicius, after having reduced Epirus, returns into Illyricum. Promulgation of the new regulations concerning Illyricum. Paulus Æmilius visits the cities of Greece. He returns into Macedonia. He settles the affairs of that province in concert with the commissioners. Young Scipio exercises himself in hunting. Paulus Æmilius gives magnificent games at Amphipolis. His noble disinterestedness. Epirus plundered. Paulus Æmilius arrives at Rome, and after him Anicius and Octavius. The Senate decrees them a triumph. The soldiers of Paulus Æmilius, at the instigation of Galba, combine to prevent his triumph. Speech of Servilius in favour of Paulus Æmilius. A triumph is granted him with unanimous consent. He loses two of his sons, the one before and the other after his triumph. His speech to the People. Perseus is kept under a guard with his son Alexander. Triumphs of Octavius and Anicius. The son of Cotys is set at liberty.

PERSEUS, after his defeat, lost no time. Continuing his flight from Pydna, he arrived in the night at Pella. Alarmed by the almost general desertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himself safe there, and set out the same night for Amphipolis, carrying with him the greatest part of his treasures. When he arrived there, he sent Deputies to Paulus Æmilius with a Caduceus, to ask permission to make proposals to him. From Amphipolis he went to the island of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple of Castor and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia opened their gates to the victor, and made their submission.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.

The Consul having set out from Pydna, arrived the next day at Pella, the happy situation of which he admired. The King's treasures had been kept in this city; but only the three hundred talents were then found there, (three hundred thousand crowns) which Perseus had caused to set out for Gentius King of Illyricum, and afterwards to be brought back. Paulus Æmilius being informed that Perseus was in Samothracia,

Liv. xliv.
46.
Plut.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168. Samothracia, repaired to Amphipolis, to go from thence to that island. He advanced into the Odontian country, beyond Strymon, and incamped at * Sires.*

Liv. xlv.
4. He there received a letter from Perseus, which was presented to him by three Deputies of no considerable birth and condition. He could not help shedding tears on reflecting upon the inconstancy of human things, of which the present state of Perseus, compared with what it had been just before, gave him a very sensible example. But, when he saw the letter was inscribed in these words, " King Perseus to the Consul Paulus Æmilius, health ;" the stupidity of that Prince in respect to his condition, says Livy, stifled all sense of compassion in him ; and, though the stile of the letter was humble and suppliant, and ill suited the royal dignity, he dismissed the Deputies without giving them an answer. What haughtiness had these proud Republicans, who in this manner in an instant degrade and depose an unfortunate King ! Perseus then perceived what title he was from thenceforth to forget. He wrote a second letter, in which he only used his name without quality. He desired, that Commissioners might be sent to him, with whom he might treat : which was granted. This negotiation was ineffectual, because Perseus on one side would not depart from his title of King, and Paulus Æmilius on the other insisted, that he should submit entirely to the discretion of the Roman People.

Ibid. 5. During this time, the Prætor Octavius, who commanded the fleet, had landed at Samothracia. He did not take Perseus by force from that asylum out of respect for the Gods who presided there ; but he endeavoured by promises and threats to induce him to quit the temple and surrender himself to the Romans. His endeavours were ineffectual.

A young Roman (called Atilius) either of his own head, or in concert with the Prætor, took another

* An obscure and unknown city at the western extremity of Macedonia.

method for drawing the King out of his asylum. Having entered the assembly of the Samothracians, which was then held, he said to them, "Is it with or
 " without foundation, that your island is said to be
 " holy, and throughout its whole extent to be sacred
 " and inviolable?" Every body having declared the island to be sacred: "Why therefore," continued he, "is an homicide, contaminated with the blood of
 " King Eumenes, suffered to violate so august and
 " sacred an abode? and whilst all the ceremonies of
 " religion are begun, by excluding from them those
 " whose hands are not pure, how can you suffer your
 " temple itself to be defiled and profaned by the presence of an infamous murderer?" This accusation regarded Evander, who, as every body knew, had been the instrument in the assassination of Eumenes.

The Samothracians in consequence declared to the King, that Evander was accused of assassination: that, according to the established laws of their asylum, he should justify himself before the judges; or, if he was afraid to do so, that he should provide for his security, and quit the temple. The King having sent for Evander, advised him in the strongest terms not to submit to such a sentence. He had reason to give him this counsel, apprehending that he would declare, it was by his order he had attempted this assassination. Accordingly he gave him to understand, that he had nothing left to chuse, but to die by his own hands. Evander seemed to comply, and declaring that he chose rather to use poison than the sword for that effect, he was solely intent upon making his escape by flight. The King being apprized of this, and fearing that the Samothracians would turn their wrath against him, as having saved the criminal from the punishment he deserved, he caused him to be killed. This was profaning the asylum with a new crime: but he corrupted the principal magistrate with great presents of money, who declared in the Assembly, that Evander had killed himself.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.
Liv. xlv.
6.
Plut. in
Æmil.

The Prætor not having been able to persuade Perseus to quit his asylum, was reduced to deprive him of all means of embarking and flying. However, notwithstanding all his precautions, Perseus secretly gained one Oroandes of Crete, who had a merchant-ship, and persuaded him to take him on board with all his riches: they amounted to two thousand talents, (that is, to about three hundred thousand pounds.) But, suspicious as he was, he did not dispossess himself of every thing, and sent only part of them, reserving the rest to be carried along with him. The Cretan, according to the knavish and deceitful character of his nation, embarked in the evening all the gold and silver sent to him, and let Perseus know, that he had only to come to the port at midnight with his children, and the people absolutely necessary to his service.

The time for the embarkation drawing nigh, Perseus, with infinite difficulty, crept through a very narrow window, crossed a garden, and went off through a ruined house with his wife and children. The rest of his treasure followed him. But what was his grief and despair, when he was informed that Oroandes, with his rich freight, was already put to sea! It was necessary that he should return to his asylum with Philip his eldest son. He confided his other children to the care of Jon of Thessalonica, who had been his favorite, and who betrayed him in his adversity. For he gave them up to Octavius; which was the principal cause that induced Perseus to surrender himself to those who had his children in their hands.

As soon as Octavius was master of the King's person, he made him embark, in order to send him to the Consul, to whom he had before given advice of it. Æmilius considering this event with reason as a second victory, immediately offered a sacrifice to the Gods; and having assembled the council, after having caused Octavius's letters to be read in it, he sent Q. Ælius Tubero, his son-in-law, to meet the King, ordering all the rest to continue with him in his tent, and to wait

Liv. xlv.
6, 7.
Plut.

wait his coming there. Never did fight draw more people together. Syphax, many years before, had been brought prisoner to the Roman camp. But besides his not being comparable to Perseus either in his own person, or the dignity of his nation; he was then only an associate in the war of Carthage, as Gentius was in that of Macedonia: whereas Perseus was the principal in the present war, and was not only highly important in his own person, but by the remembrance of his father, grandfather, and the many other Kings whom he reckoned either amongst his ancestors or predecessors, amongst whom Philip and Alexander, who had subjected the universe to the Macedonians, made the greatest figure.

Perseus arrived in the camp, in black robes, attended only by his son. He could not move forwards for the great crowd that pressed to see him, and stopped the way, till the Consul sent his Lictors to clear it and open him a passage to his tent. Paulus Æmilius rose up, and ordering every body else to continue sitting, he advanced some steps to meet him, and offered him his hand. That Prince was for throwing himself at the feet of the victor, and for embracing his knees; but the Consul would not suffer it, and raising him up, made him sit down opposite to those who formed the assembly.

He began by asking him, “ what cause of discontent had induced him to undertake a war against the Roman People, that exposed himself and his kingdom to inevitable ruin.” As, instead of the answer which every body expected, the King kept his eyes upon the ground, and shed tears without speaking, Paulus Æmilius continued as follows: “ If you had ascended
 “ the throne in your early youth, I should be less sur-
 “ prized at your having been ignorant of what weight
 “ it was to have the Roman People for your friends
 “ or enemies. But having had part yourself in the
 “ war which your father made against us, and re-
 “ membring the treaty of peace, with which it was
 “ followed, and of which we have on our side ob-

A. R. 584. " served the conditions with the utmost strictness ;
 Ant. C. " how could you chuse rather to be at war than at
 168. " peace with a people, whose valour in the one and
 " fidelity in the other you had experienced ?" Perseus
 making no more answer to this reproach, than to the
 first question : " In whatsoever manner," resumed the
 Consul, " these things may have happened, either
 " through error, to which every man is liable, through
 " chance, or the inevitable decrees of fate, take cou-
 " rage. The clemency with which the Roman Peo-
 " ple have acted in respect to many Kings and States,
 " ought to inspire you, I do not say only with some
 " hope, but an almost assured confidence, that they
 " will treat you in a manner with which you will
 " have reason to be pleased." The consequence will
 shew what we are to think of this soothing promise.

Liv. xlv.
 7, 8.
 Plut.

He spoke this in Greek to Perseus ; then turning
 towards the Romans, and resuming the Latin tongue :
 " You see," said he to them, " a great example of
 " the inconstancy of human things. It is principally
 " to you, young warriors, that I direct this discourse.
 " The uncertainty of what may happen to us from
 " day to day ought to teach us not to behave with
 " pride or violence to any one whatsoever in prospe-
 " rity, and not to rely too much upon our present
 " good fortune. The proof of true merit and true
 " courage is, neither to be too elate in good, nor too
 " much dejected in bad, fortune." Paulus Æmilius
 having dismissed the assembly, gave Tubero the care
 of the King's person. He made him sup with him that
 day, and gave orders that he should be treated with
 all the honours his present state would admit. He af-
 terwards distributed his troops into winter-quarters, the
 greatest part to Amphipolis, and the rest into the
 neighbouring cities.

Liv. xlv.
 9.

Thus terminated the war between the Romans and
 Perseus, after having continued four years : and thus
 ended a kingdom, which had rendered itself so famous
 both in Europe and Asia. Perseus had reigned eleven
 years.

years. He was reckoned the * thirty-ninth King from Caranus, who was the first that had reigned in Macedonia. So important a conquest cost Paulus Æmilius but fifteen days.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.
Liv. xlv.
9.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very obscure till the time of Philip the son of Amyntas. Under that Prince, and by his great exploits, it made considerable acquisitions, however not beyond the bounds of Europe : it took in part of Thrace and Illyricum, and acquired a kind of dominion over Greece. The same kingdom afterwards extended into Asia ; and during the thirteen years of Alexander's reign, it subjected all the provinces, that formed the vast empire of the Persians, and extended itself on one side as far as Arabia, and on the other to India, which were then considered as the extremities of the world. This empire, the greatest of the earth, being divided or rather torn into different kingdoms after Alexander's death by his successors, who each usurped their part of it, subsisted in Macedonia during something more than an hundred and fifty years, till it was entirely subverted by the arms of the Romans. And thus ended the so much boasted exploits of that famous conqueror, the terror and admiration of the universe, or, more properly speaking, the example of the most vain and frantic ambition that ever was.

Paulus Æmilius, immediately after the battle, in which Perseus had been defeated, had sent Deputies to Rome to carry thither the news of his victory. Long before their arrival, and only the fourth day after the battle, whilst games were celebrating in the Circus, a rumour had spread, that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and that Perseus had been defeated. This news occasioned an universal clapping of hands with cries of victory throughout the Circus. But, when the magistrates, upon strict enquiry, had found that this report had neither author nor founda-

* Livy, as we have him, says the twentieth. But there undoubtedly must be a fault in the cypher. The chronicle of Eusebius says the thirty-ninth.

A. R. 584. tion, this false and short-lived joy ceased, and left be-
 Ant. C. hind it only a tacit hope, that it was the presage of a
 168. victory either already gained, or which soon would
 be so.

The arrival of the Deputies some days after made Rome easy. They brought advice, that Perseus had been entirely defeated, that he was flying, and that he could not escape the victor. The people's joy then, which had been suspended hitherto, now broke out immoderately. The Deputies read a circumstantial account of the battle, first in the Senate, and afterwards in the Assembly of the People. Publick thanksgivings and sacrifices were decreed, and all the temples were immediately filled with persons of all ages and sexes, who went thither to thank the Gods for the glorious victory which they had vouchsafed to grant the Commonwealth. Some time after news was brought of Perseus's being taken; which raised the publick joy to the highest pitch. New thanksgivings and sacrifices were decreed.

A. R. 585.
 Ant. C.
 167.

Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

M. JUNIUS PENNUS.

Not to interrupt what relates to Macedonia, and Paulus Æmilius, I omit some facts to which I shall return.

Liv. xlv.
 47, 18.

After the election of the new Consuls at Rome, the command of the armies in Macedonia was continued to Paulus Æmilius, and in Illyricum to Lucius Anicius: ten commissioners were then appointed to regulate the affairs of Macedonia, and five for those of Illyricum; the whole to be transacted in concert with the Generals. Though the persons chosen for this commission were such, whose prudence might be safely relied upon, it was believed, that the importance of the affair required, that it should be maturely discussed in the Senate, in order that the plan might be laid down for the Generals, and that they might have no more to do than to put the last hand to it.

It was previously to all other things decreed, "that the Macedonians and Illyrians should remain free, in order to make known to all nations, that the end of the Roman arms was not to enslave free people, but to deliver them from slavery; so that some might always retain their liberty under the protection of the Roman name; and others, under the government of Kings, might be treated by them with greater moderation and equity, out of consideration for the Romans: or that, if war should ever arise between such Kings and the Roman People, the nations might know, that the event of those wars would be victory to the Romans, and liberty to them."

A. R. 585.
Ant. C.
167.

"The Senate also abolished the duties upon the mines, and revenues of certain countries: because those taxes could only be levied by the ministration of tax-farmers, commonly called Publicans; and wherever those farmers were settled, one thing of two necessarily happened. If they were commanded to treat the people with lenity, those taxes were reduced almost to nothing: if they were permitted to use rigor and severities, that was either to licence or command the oppression and ruin of the people. The Macedonians themselves might have been impowered to levy them: but it was judged, that the handling of the publick money always enriching those who had it, it would be an occasion of envy and discord between them, and continual matter of sedition. Therefore the best method seemed absolutely and for ever to suppress them.

They decreed that there should be no general council of the whole nation in Macedonia, lest the insolent multitude should make the liberty the Senate gave them, degenerate into a pernicious licentiousness, which liberty could not be salutary, but whilst used with moderation. Macedonia should therefore be divided into four regions, of which each should have its particular council, and should pay half the taxes, usually paid the Kings, to the Romans." And indeed, this partition of a State into four parts very
much

A.R. 583. much weakened its power, and seems a consequence,
 Ant. C. but on this occasion wise and equitable, of that great
 167. principle of government, "Divide and reign," *Divide & impera*.

Liv. xlv. Those appointed for Illyricum set out first, and
 26. repaired thither immediately. The Proprætor Anicius had entered Epirus with part of his army. That country, as we have related above, had embraced the party of Perseus: and it was now to be subjected to the Romans. The city of Phanotum surrendered first to the Romans, and most of the rest did the same. That of Passaron at first refused to open its gates. Two of the principal citizens of that place, who in concert with Cephalus had made the whole nation take arms against the Romans, rightly perceiving, that they had no pardon to hope, in order to bury themselves in the ruins of their country, persuaded the inhabitants to make head against Anicius, exhorting them to prefer death to slavery. Nobody dared to open their mouth against two men, whose power was absolute. Theodotus, a young citizen of illustrious birth and rank, had the courage to speak in opposition to them, not fearing them so much as the Romans. "What phrenzy has seized you," said he to his countrymen, "and induces you to involve so many innocent persons in the punishment of two criminals? I have often heard of private persons, who have died generously for their country; these two are the only men to this day, who have believed, that their country ought to perish for them, and with them. Let us rather open our gates to the Romans, and submit to a power, to whom the whole universe is subjected." The two authors of the revolt seeing that the multitude followed this young citizen, attacked the nearest post of the enemy, and presenting themselves to their swords, found the death they sought. The city immediately surrendered to the Romans. Cephalus in that of Tecmon acted almost in the same manner, and had the same fate with those I have just mentioned: after which the Romans met

met with no farther resistance. Anicius having reduced Epirus, and put his troops into winter-quarters in the most commodious places, returned into Illyricum.

A. R. 585.
Ant. C.
167.

He there found the commissioners of Rome at Scodra, the capital of the country, who communicated to him the Senate's orders. After Anicius had consulted them, he called an assembly of the Illyrians, and having ascended his tribunal, he declared, that the Senate and People of Rome granted the Illyrians liberty, and that the garrisons should evacuate all the cities and citadels of the country as soon as possible. As to some countries, which before and after the war had declared for the Romans, to their liberty was added an exemption from all taxes: the rest were discharged from half they before paid to King Gentius. Illyricum was divided into three regions or parts, each of which had its peculiar public council and magistrates. After having established this form of government there, he returned to his winter-quarters at Passaron in Epirus.

Liv. xlv.
26.

Before the commissioners for Macedonia arrived there, Paulus Æmilius, who was at leisure, resolved, during the autumn, to visit the most famous cities of Greece, and to see with his own eyes things of which all the world talked without knowing them. Having left the command of the camp to Sulpicius Gallus, he set out with a very small train, accompanied by his son young Scipio, and Athenæus brother of King Eumenes.

Liv. xlv.
27, 28.
Plut. in
Æmil.

He crossed Thessalia to go to Delphi, the most famous oracle of the universe. The multitude and riches of the presents, statues, vases, tripods, with which this temple was filled, surprized him extremely. He there offered a sacrifice to Apollo. On seeing a great square pillar of white stone, on which a golden statue of Perseus was to be placed, he ordered his own to be set upon it, saying, "That the vanquished
" ought to give place to the victors."

A.R. 585.
Ant. C.
167.

At Lebadea he saw the temple of Jupiter, first named Trophonius, and the entrance of the cave, into which those descended who consulted that oracle. He offered a sacrifice to Jupiter and to the goddess Hecynna. She was believed to be the daughter of Trophonius.

At Chalcis, he had the curiosity to see the Euripus, and all that is said of the ebbing and flowing of the sea, which are much more frequent here than any where else, and entirely irregular.

From thence he went to the city of Aulis, from which port in former times set out the famous fleet of Agamemnon. He visited the temple of Diana, upon whose altar that King of Kings sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain an happy voyage from that goddess.

After having passed through Oropus into Attica, where the prophet Amphilochus was honoured as a God, he repaired to Athens, a city famous for its antient grandeur, which presented to his view abundance of objects capable of exciting and gratifying his curiosity, the citadel, the ports, the walls which joined the port Piræus to the city, the arsenals, the monuments of great Captains; and lastly, the statues of Gods and heroes, in which the workmanship far excelled the riches and variety of the materials. He did not forget to offer a sacrifice to Minerva, the tutelar goddess of the citadel.

Whilst Paulus Æmilius was in this city, he asked the Athenians for an excellent philosopher to compleat the education of his children, and a skilful painter to design the ornaments of his triumph. They immediately cast their eyes upon Metrodorus, who excelled both in philosophy and painting. We see here what attention the great men of antiquity had to the education of their children. The sons of that Roman General had taken the robe of manhood, as the youngest, afterwards known by the name of the second Scipio Africanus, was then seventeen years old. He notwithstanding thinks of placing a philosopher with
them,

them, capable of forming both their minds for the sciences, and their hearts for moral virtue, which of all studies is the most important, and however the most neglected. Paulus Æmilius, after having found in the person of Metrodorus the treasure he sought, quitted Athens well satisfied.

A. R. 585.
Ant. C.
167.

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and Isthmus afforded him a curious sight: The citadel of prodigious height, and abounding with waters supplied by an infinite number of springs; the Isthmus, which by a very narrow tract of land separated two adjacent seas, the one on the west, and the other on the east.

Sicyon and Argos, two very illustrious cities, were the next on his way; then Epidaurus, less opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of Æsculapius, where there then was an infinite number of rich presents, offered by diseased persons in gratitude for cures they imagined they had received from that God.

Sparta was not distinguished by the magnificence of its buildings, but the wisdom of its laws, customs, and discipline.

Having passed through Megalopolis, he arrived at Olympia. He there saw abundance of things worthy of admiration; but when he cast his eyes upon the statue of Jupiter, (which was the masterpiece of Phidias) he was as highly struck with it, says Livy, as if he had seen that God himself: *Jovem veluti præsentem intuens, motus animo est*, and he cried out, “this * Jupiter of Phidias is the very Jupiter of Homer.” Accordingly full of veneration, as if he had been in the Capitol, he offered a more solemn sacrifice here than any where else.

When he had thus made the tour of Greece, without inquiring what each place had thought in respect to Perseus, to avoid leaving the allies under any anxiety,

* To have so well expressed the idea of Homer, is highly for the praise of Phidias; but to have so well conceived all the majesty of the God, is much more for Homer's.

A. R. 585. ety, he returned to Demetrias. He had met a body
 Ant. C. 167. of Ætolians on his way, who came to inform him of
 an horrid violence committed upon the principal persons of their nation. He ordered them to meet him at Amphipolis. Being informed, that the ten commissioners had already passed the sea, he quitted all his other affairs, and went to meet them at Apollonia, only one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much surprized to meet Perseus there, whom his guards suffered to go from place to place with great liberty; for which he afterwards warmly reproached Sulpicius to whose care he had confided the keeping of that important prisoner. He then put him into the hands of Postumius, as well as his son Philip, with orders to guard him better. As to his daughter and second son, he caused them to be brought from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered all the care to be taken of them that suited their birth and condition.

Liv. xliv.
 29, 30.
 Plut.

When the day arrived, on which he had ordered ten of the principal citizens to attend him at Amphipolis, with all the publick registers wheresoever deposited, and all the King's money, he placed himself on his tribunal in the midst of the ten commissioners. And though the multitude of the Macedonians around them, had been accustomed to the splendor of their Kings, the Lictor, who kept off the crowd, the Herald who cited persons before the magistrate, and the Officers with their rods and axes, all objects new to their eyes and ears, and capable of intimidating not only conquered enemies, but even allies of the Commonwealth, struck them with surprize and terror. Paulus Æmilius having caused silence to be made, repeated in Latin what the Senate, and himself with the ten commissioners had regulated in respect to Macedonia: and the Prætor Octavius who was present explained the whole to the assembly in the Greek tongue.

The principal articles were: "That the Macedonians should be free, should retain their cities, lands, and laws, and create new magistrates every year.
 That

That they should pay the Romans half the taxes they had paid their Kings: (Plutarch makes this moiety amount to an hundred talents, that is, an hundred thousand crowns.) That Macedonia should from thenceforth be divided into four regions, or cantons, each of which should have its own council, wherein all affairs should be finally determined. The capital cities, where the assemblies of each canton were to be held, were for the first Amphipolis, for the second Thessalonica, for the third Pella, and for the fourth Pelagonia. It was in these four cities, the people of each government had orders to assemble by their deputies, carry in their taxes, and elect their magistrates. None were allowed to contract marriages, or buy lands or houses, out of their own district. They were prohibited to work in the mines either of gold or silver; only those of brass and iron were abandoned to their industry; and those who employed themselves in them were taxed only half what they usually paid the King. They were also prohibited to use foreign salt, and either to cut themselves, or suffer others to cut, wood proper for building ships. The districts, bordering upon barbarous nations, (as all were except the third) were permitted to keep standing troops upon their frontiers."

These regulations, which were promulged in full assembly, made different impressions upon the hearers. The article of liberty and that of the diminution of taxes, gave the Macedonians, who little expected them, extreme pleasure. But they considered the partition of Macedonia into different regions, which were no longer to have any commerce with each other, as tearing a body in pieces by separating its members, which only live and subsist by their mutual aid and support of each other.

The Proconsul afterwards gave the Ætolians the audience he had promised them. I shall speak of it elsewhere. After an interval which was passed in other affairs, a second general assembly of the Macedonians was held, to set the new government on foot.

A. R. 585. At this time he caused the names of the principal persons of Macedonia, whom it had been resolved to remove to Italy, with such of their children, as were above fifteen years old, to be publicly read. This order, which at first seemed rigorous and cruel, was afterwards acknowledged to be necessary to the liberty of the people. * For none were named in this list except the great Lords, Generals of armies, Captains of ships, with all who had exercised offices, or been employed in embassies, in a word, all the officers, considerable or not, who had been accustomed to make their court servilely to the King, and to command others with pride and insolence. In this number were included the very rich and powerful persons of themselves; and others, who being much inferior to them in birth and fortune, affected to equal, and even exceed, them in luxury and expence: both living almost like Kings as to their tables and equipages. Such kind of men would not easily have been reduced to lead a quite different life, in which liberty makes all the citizens equal, and every body without distinction is alike subject to the laws. All these had orders to quit Macedonia, and go to Italy upon pain of death.

The regulations made by Paulus Æmilius for Macedonia, were so wise, and so judiciously concerted, that they seemed intended not for enemies conquered by force of arms, but for faithful allies, with whom there was entire reason to be satisfied; and use, which alone proves what may have been weak and defective in laws, during a long series of years, found nothing to correct in these instituted by this wise magistrate.

Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 161. Whilst Paulus Æmilius was employed in these important cares, Scipio his son, whom age did not yet

* *Nominati sunt enim Regis amici purpuratique, duces exercituum, præfecti navium, aut præsidiorum; servire Regi humiliter, aliis superbè imperare assueti: prædivites alii, alii quos fortunâ non equarent, his sumptibus pares: Regius omnibus victus vestitusque: nulli civilis animus, neque legum neque libertatis æquæ patiens.* Liv.

permit to share in them, amused himself in the exercise of hunting, of which he was very fond. Macedonia supplied him abundantly with what was necessary to gratify his inclination; because hunting, which was the usual diversion of its Kings, having been suspended for some years on account of the war, game of all kinds abounded very much: Paulus Æmilius, intent upon procuring his son innocent pleasures, to divert him from such as reason forbade, gave him entire liberty to take that of hunting during the whole time that the Roman troops remained in the country, after the victory he had gained over Perseus. The young Roman employed his leisure in this exercise so suitable to his age, and he had no less success in this innocent war, which he declared against the beasts of Macedonia, than his father had had in that he had made against the inhabitants of the country.

Paulus Æmilius himself made games and shews succeed his serious occupations, for which he had been long preparing, and to which he had taken care to invite all the most considerable persons in the cities of Asia and Greece. He made magnificent sacrifices to the Gods, and gave superb feasts, finding in abundance wherewith to supply such great expences in the King's treasures, but only in himself the good order and fine taste that prevailed in them. For, having so many thousands of people to receive, he shewed so just a discernment and so exact a knowledge of what was due to them all, that every one was lodged, placed, and treated according to his rank and merit, and there was not one who had not reason to be satisfied with his politeness and humanity. The Greeks could not sufficiently admire that even in Games a thing unknown before amongst the Romans, he should introduce so much exactness and discernment; and that a man, employed in the greatest affairs, should not neglect the least decorum in small ones.

He had caused all the spoils, which he did not think fit to carry to Rome, to be piled up together, bows, quivers, arrows, javelins, in a word arms of all kinds,

A.R. 585. and had ranged them in form of trophies. With a torch
 Ant. C. in his hand he set fire to them first himself, and the
 167. principal officers after him.

He next exposed to the view of the spectators, on an higher place, prepared for that purpose, all that was richest and most magnificent in the booty he had taken in Macedonia, and which was to be carried to Rome: rich moveables, statues and paintings, executed by the greatest masters, vases of gold, silver, brass, and ivory, which in magnificence surpassed all that had ever been seen of the kind, even in the palace of Alexander.

But the greatest satisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from this magnificence, and which most soothed his self-love, was to see, in the midst of so many curious things, and sights capable of attracting the eye, that nothing appeared so wonderful and so worthy of attention and admiration, as himself. And when some expressed their surprize at the fine order that appeared at his table, he said * pleasantly, that the same genius which was necessary in drawing up an army, was also necessary in disposing a feast; the one for rendering an army formidable to an enemy, and the other for making an entertainment agreeable to the guests.

His disinterestedness and magnanimity were no less praised than his magnificence and politeness. For he did not so much as see all the gold and silver found in the King's treasury, and which amounted to very great sums, but he caused it to be put into the hands of the Quæstors, in order to be laid up. He only suffered his sons, who loved study, to keep the books of Perseus's library. The young Lords of those times, and those who were intended one day to command armies, did not express contempt for study, nor believe it either unworthy of their birth, or useless in the profession of arms.

* Vulgò dictum ipsius ferebant, & convivium instruere & ludos parare, ejusdem esse qui vincere bello sciret. Liv.

Paulus Æmilius, in distributing the rewards of valour, gave only a silver cup of five pounds weight to his son-in-law Tubero. It was the same Tubero, who, with sixteen persons of his family, lived on a small piece of land, which sufficed for their subsistence and support. This cup was the first piece of plate that entered the house of the Ælii; and it was still necessary, that virtue and honour should introduce it into that little poor family, worthy indeed of being called the palace and temple of poverty. If Paulus Æmilius, when master of the immense treasures of Perseus, had converted a part of them to enrich himself, could it be also said, that virtue and honour had introduced those riches into his house? He was far from so shameful and infamous a proceeding. I call it so after Cicero, who declares, * that avarice is the most shameful of all vices, especially in those who are charged with the government of a State; and that to make so noble an employment the means of gain, is not only the most infamous, but the vilest and most criminal of all things. He had said before, speaking of Perseus, that nothing had entered that General's house, except the immortal glory of his virtue. *Et hic nihil domum suam præter memoriam nominis sempiternam detulit.*

When Paulus Æmilius had made all the rich spoils of Perseus embark in order to be carried to Rome, in the charge of Cn. Octavius, and had regulated all the affairs of Macedonia, he took his leave of the Greeks, and after having exhorted the Macedonians not to abuse the liberty which the Romans had granted them, and to preserve it by good government and unity, he set out for Epirus, with a decree of the Senate, which ordered him to let his soldiers plunder all the cities of that country, that had revolted against the Romans, and espoused the King's party. He had also

* Nullum vitium tetrius, quàm avaritia, præsertim in principibus rempublicam gubernantibus. Habere enim quæstui rempublicam, non modò turpe est, sed sceleratum etiam & nefarium. Offic. II. 77.

A. R. 585. sent Scipio Nasica and Fabius his son with part of his
 Ant. C. troops to ravage the country of the Illyrians, which had
 167. aided that Prince.

When the Roman General arrived in Epirus, he thought it necessary to act with caution in executing his commission, that his design might not be foreseen. He sent officers into all the cities, under pretext of withdrawing the garrisons, in order that the people of Epirus might enjoy liberty as well as the Macedonians. And this is called prudence ! At the same time he signified to ten of the principal citizens of each city, that on a day fixed they should bring all the gold and silver that were in the houses and temples into the publick places ; and he distributed his cohorts into all the cities, in order to seize those sums, and to guard them safely. On the day fixed, the gold and silver was brought early in the morning into the places, and delivered to the Roman officers, and at ten of the clock, the signal having been given, all the rest was plundered by the soldiers. An hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves. After having plundered to the number of seventy cities, the walls of them were demolished. All the spoils were sold, and out of the sum, to which they amounted, each foot soldier had about five pounds, (two hundred denarii) and each of the horse ten. This violent execution shews, that the Romans knew the maxims of conquerors, cruel when they are to establish their sway, which is safe in being afterwards made supportable by the wisdom and lenity of their government.

After Paulus Æmilius, contrary to his disposition, which was mild and humane, had caused this decree to be executed, he marched towards the sea to the city of Oricum, made his whole army embark, and repass'd into Italy. Some days after, Anicius having assembled the rest of the Epirots and Acarnanians, ordered the principal persons of them, whose sentence was reserved for the judgment of the Senate, to follow him into Italy.

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, went up that river in the galley of King Perseus, which was of sixteen benches of oars, and in which were displayed, not only the arms taken, but the rich stuffs and the fine purple carpets found amongst the plunder. All the citizens went out to meet this galley, accompanied it in crowds along the shore, and seemed to anticipate the honours of a triumph, which the Proconsul had so well deserved.

Some days after arrived Anicius and Octavius with the fleet. The Senate decreed them all three triumphs, and ordered C. Cassius to engage the Tribunes of the People in the name of the Senate to propose the law, or usual decree in the like cases, to impower those Generals to retain the title of command for the day they should enter the city in triumph.

* Envy commonly neglects inferior merit, and aims its venom at that which is greatest and most distinguished. Anicius and Octavius found no obstacle to their triumphs : Paulus Æmilius, to whom they would have been ashamed to compare themselves, was the only one opposed. That General had made his soldiers observe the severe discipline of the antient Romans. The part of the plunder which he had promised them was infinitely short of their expectations ; and if he had fully satisfied their avidity, he must have abandoned all the King's treasures to them. The army of Macedonia in consequence was disposed to express little zeal for their General in the assembly which was upon the point of being held for passing the law. But Servius Galba, as a Tribune of the second legion, and who was personally the enemy of Paulus Æmilius, had prejudiced his legion against him, and by their means engaged the whole army to be present in the assembly, and to be revenged of a cruel and avaricious General, in rejecting the law proposed for his triumph. He called the strictness, with which Paulus Æmilius had caused the discipline to

A. R. 585.
Ant. C.
167.
Liv. xlv.
35.

Liv. ibid.
35, 36.

* Intacta invidiâ media sunt : ad summa fermè tendit.

A. R. 585. be observed, cruelty; and his care in preserving the
 Ant. C. riches of the conquered country for the publick trea-
 267. sury, avarice. Such discourses however made a great
 impression upon the soldiers; and their discontent,
 which arose from their insatiable avidity, injured the
 excellent qualities of their General, to whom how-
 ever they were all forced to do justice within them-
 selves, by acknowledging the superiority of his merit
 in every respect.

On the day of the assembly, as a triumph was upon
 the point of being decreed him unanimously, Galba
 seeing that nobody offered to oppose a law, which did
 not seem to admit any difficulty, came forwards, and
 said that particulars having a right to speak for on
 against Laws proposed, he demanded, that the affair
 might be deferred till next day, because it was already
 past two in the afternoon, and the four remaining hours
 did not suffice for deducing all the reasons he had to al-
 ledge against the triumph of Paulus Æmilius. The
 Tribunes having ordered him to speak immediately,
 if he had any thing to say, he began a long discourse
 full of injurious expressions and reproaches; the end
 of which was to animate and incense the soldiers, by
 exaggerating the cruelty of the Generals in respect to
 them, and giving them to understand, that if all of
 them in concert rejected the law, they would teach
 the great persons of Rome by that firmness of behavi-
 our to treat the troops with less rigor than they did.
 In this manner he took up the rest of the day.

The next day, the soldiers came in so great a num-
 ber to the assembly, it was almost impossible for the
 other citizens to enter it to give their suffrages. The
 first Tribes absolutely rejected the proposal of the tri-
 umph. The Senators upon that, highly enraged,
 that Paulus Æmilius should be denied an honour,
 which he had so well deserved, and alarmed besides
 by a conspiracy, which was upon the point of subject-
 ing the Generals to the soldiers, and of rendering
 them the victims of their licentiousness and avarice,
 made a great noise in the assembly. After the tu-
 mult

mult had been appeased, M. Servilius, who had been Consul, and had killed three and twenty enemies, who had challenged him, in single combat, desired the Tribunes to begin the deliberation again, and to permit him to speak to the people. This being granted, he explained himself to the following effect.

A. R. 585.
Ant. C.
167.

“ Romans, it seems to me, that we may now more
“ than ever know the great ability of Paulus Æmilius
“ in the art of war, since having an army to command
“ so inclined to licentiousness and revolt, he has known
“ how to keep it within the bounds of duty, and to
“ perform with it such great and glorious actions. But
“ what I cannot conceive, is, that after having expressed
“ so lively and universal a joy, and even paid thanksgivings to the Gods on only the news of the victory gained in Macedonia, now that this victory is in a manner set before your eyes, by the presence of the General, to whom you are indebted for it, you appear indifferent, and inclined to refuse the same Gods the honours and acknowledgment you owe them, for so distinguished a protection.

Liv. xlv.
37—39.
Plut. in
Æmil.

“ Could one have believed, that there was a single person at Rome, that could dislike triumphing over the Macedonians, and that the persons should be the very soldiers of Paulus Æmilius, who sought to obscure the glory of their victory. But what complaints then do they make of their General? He has obliged us, say they, to guard our posts with extreme severity. He has made our sentinels and rounds do their duty with more rigour than any of those who commanded before him. He has exacted from us more assiduity in fatigues, than had been required before, being every where in person, and affording us no relaxation. And lastly, having it in his power to enrich us by the spoils he took, he has chose rather to keep the King's treasures to adorn his triumph, and to cause them afterwards to be carried into the publick treasury. You would be ashamed, soldiers, to express yourselves in these terms. These however are the only reproaches you can make your General,
“ and

A. R. 585. “ and the only reasons you have to oppose the honour
 Ant. C. “ Rome is for granting him.
 167.

“ But do not deceive yourselves, soldiers. It is not
 “ Paulus Æmilius that your refusal will hurt. A tri-
 “ umph can add nothing to his glory, universally ac-
 “ knowledged as it is, and confirmed by so many no-
 “ ble exploits. It is the Roman People themselves,
 “ it is the whole Commonwealth, you injure. You
 “ must not imagine, that a triumph is a particular, a
 “ private ceremony. It is an honour common to the
 “ whole nation. Have the many triumphs over the
 “ Gauls, Spaniards, Carthaginians, rendered only the
 “ Generals illustrious who conquered those nations ?
 “ Has not the greatest part of their glory been reflected
 “ upon the Roman name.

“ Can there be a more delightful spectacle, than to
 “ see a considerable number of Generals of armies,
 “ great Lords, and Perseus himself with his children,
 “ Perseus, the most illustrious and most opulent King
 “ of Europe, all laden with chains, walk before the
 “ chariot, and almost under the feet of the triumpher ?
 “ And this is the delightful scene, the shining glory,
 “ of which a malignant envy labours to deprive all
 “ Rome.

“ Instead of these honours, you are preparing shame
 “ and infamy for the Roman People, which will for
 “ ever sully their renown, in causing them to be con-
 “ sidered as enemies to true merit. And at the same
 “ time you do an irreparable injury to the Common-
 “ wealth. For what Roman will endeavour to imitate
 “ Scipio, or Paulus Æmilius, in a city which repays
 “ the most important services of its Generals only with
 “ ingratitude ?

“ But I am in the wrong, soldiers, to impute to
 “ all of you sentiments so remote from your character,
 “ and the conduct you have hitherto observed. So
 “ black and criminal a conspiracy can only be the effect
 “ of the hatred and phrenzy of some particulars, the
 “ personal enemies of Paulus Æmilius. The suf-
 “ frages you are this instant going to give, and which
 “ I assure

“ I assure myself cannot but be in his favour, will fully
 “ justify you.”

A. R. 585.
 Ant. C.

This discourse made such an impression upon the
 soldiery, that upon the tribes being called upon again
 to vote, they unanimously decreed Paulus Æmilius a
 Triumph. The merit of this General having thus
 prevailed over the malice and jealousy of his enemies,
 he triumphed over Perseus and the Macedonians during
 three days successively.

167.
 Liv. xlv.

The triumph of which we are speaking far ex-
 ceeded all which had hitherto been seen at Rome, ei-
 ther for the greatness of the conquered King, the
 number and excellence of the statues and paintings
 exposed to view in this shew, or the immense sums
 carried into the publick treasury. [A circumstantial
 description of this pomp may be seen in the little tract
 upon Triumphs.] These sums were so considerable,
 that the citizens paid no more taxes till the time of
 Hirtius and Pansa, who were Consuls the year after
 Cæsar's death.

Plut.
 Liv. xlv.
 40.

It is easy to conceive how much the sight of so pow-
 erful a King as Perseus, reduced to so humbled a state,
 accompanied by the Queen his wife, and followed by
 his children bathed in tears, must have excited the
 compassion of the spectators. That Prince had desired
 Paulus Æmilius not to exhibit him for a show to the
 Roman People, and to spare him the indignity of be-
 ing led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius answered coldly :
 “ The favour he asks of me, is in his own power ; he
 “ can grant it to himself.” What he intended by these
 words wants no interpretation.

When the pomp arrived at the foot of the Capitol,
 the prisoners were carried, according to custom, to the
 publick prisons.

Paulus Æmilius gave an hundred denarii to each
 foot soldier (about fifty shillings) twice as much to the
 Centurions, and thrice to the horse.

For the rest, Perseus, laden with chains and led
 through the city before the chariot of the victor, was
 not the only one, who in those days afforded a great
 example

Liv. ibid.
 Plut. in
 Æmil.

A. R. 585. example of the inconstancy of human things. Paulus
 Ant. C. Æmilius, in the midst of his triumph, all glittering
 167. with gold and purple, gave also a proof of it, no less
 sad and affecting. Of the four sons which he had, the
 two by his first wife, Fabius and Scipio, had been
 adopted into two other families. Of the two others,
 whom he had by his second wife, and kept in his
 house to be the heirs of his name, fortunes, and glory;
 the youngest died at twelve years of age, five days
 before his triumph, and the other, who was fourteen,
 was taken off three days afterwards. Every body was
 sensibly touched with the affliction of that unfortunate
 father, whose successes and joy were mixed with so af-
 fecting a loss and so cruel a subject of grief.

Liv. xlv.
 41.
 Plut.

After some days, he repaired to the assembly of the
 People, to give an account of his services, according
 to the usual custom, and made a speech worthy of a
 true Roman. “ Though my triumph and the fune-
 “ rals of my children, which have served alternately
 “ as fights for you, cannot have suffered you to be ig-
 “ norant either of the good success of my Consulship,
 “ or the sad fate of a family twice struck from heaven
 “ in so short a space; permit me, however, Romans,
 “ to relate to you in few words the happiness of the
 “ Commonwealth, and the misfortune of my house.
 “ Having set out from Brundisium, at sun-rise, I ar-
 “ rived three hours after at Corcyra with my whole
 “ fleet. Five days after I offered a sacrifice to Apollo
 “ at Delphi for myself and my armies, by land and sea.
 “ From Delphi I arrived in five days more at the
 “ camp, took upon myself the command of the army,
 “ and, after having reformed some abuses which were
 “ a great obstacle to success, I advanced within sight
 “ of the enemy. But finding that it was neither pos-
 “ sible to force the King in his intrenchments, nor to
 “ bring him to a battle, I seized the fort and defiles
 “ of Pythium, notwithstanding the troops which
 “ guarded them; marched down by that means into
 “ the plain, forced Perseus to a battle, gained it, re-
 “ duced his whole kingdom into subjection to the Ro-
 man

A. R. 585.
Ant. C.
167.

man People; and lastly, terminated a war in fifteen days, which had subsisted three years, and which the preceding Consuls had conducted in such a manner, that the last always transmitted it to his successor more difficult and dangerous than it was when he came to the command. The succeeding events have been no less fortunate. All the cities that had been subject to Perseus surrendered, I seized all the treasures of that Prince. I afterwards made him prisoner in the temple of Samothracia, where the Gods seem to have put him into my hands, with his children. It was at this time, judging myself, that fortune was too favourable to me, I began to apprehend her inconstancy. I was afraid, that she would lay some snare for me at sea, when I should have embarked to carry the rich spoils of Macedonia with my victorious army to Italy: for it is at sea that fortune seems to exercise her sway with most power. But our voyage was entirely good: the treasures and my troops arrived at a good port in Italy. There seemed nothing farther for me to ask of the Gods. However, being persuaded that it is often after her most signal favours, that fortune takes pleasure in evidencing her malignity, I implored of the Gods, that they would let fall the ills, which such great prosperity seemed to denounce, rather upon me than upon the Commonwealth. * At present therefore the funerals of my children, as if to deride human prosperity, having happened before and after my triumph, I have room to hope that so distinguished a disaster in my family has acquitted the Commonwealth in the sight of the Gods, and leaves it nothing farther to fear on their part. Perseus and myself have been equally spectacles to mankind, to instruct all mortals, how little they ought to rely upon their present felicity. There is

* Itaque defunctam esse fortunam publicam mea tam insigni calamitate spero; quod triumphus meus, velut ad ludibrium casuum humanorum, duobus funeribus liberorum meorum est interpositus. LIV.

A. R. 585. “ however a great difference between us. Reduced
 Ant. C. “ as well as his children into captivity, he has seen
 167. “ them dragged before him in triumph: but after-
 “ wards he has the consolation to see them alive and
 “ well. And for me, who have triumphed over Per-
 “ feus, a still more unfortunate father than him, I
 “ went from the funeral of one of my sons in my cha-
 “ riot to ascend to the Capitol, and descended from
 “ thence almost only to see the other expire before
 “ my eyes. Thus, of four sons with whom I was
 “ surrounded, not one remains that bears my name,
 “ the two first having passed by adoption into other
 “ families. But your good fortune, and the publick
 “ felicity, console me for my losses, and the solitude
 “ to which my house is now reduced.” This discourse,
 full of force and constancy, touched the hearers more,
 than if he had endeavoured to move their compassion
 by deploring his misfortune in a plaintive and mourn-
 ful tone.

Liv. xlv.
 42.
 Plut.

However sensible P. Æmilius might be to the mis-
 fortunes of Perseus, he could do nothing more for him,
 than to cause him to be removed from the publick pri-
 son into a more commodious place. He was carried by
 order of the Senate to Alba, where he was guarded and
 supplied with money, moveables, and persons to serve
 him. Most authors say, that he destroyed himself by
 abstaining from food. He had reigned eleven years.
 Macedonia was not reduced into a province till some
 years after.

Of the three children of Perseus, two, his daughter
 and eldest son, who was called Philip, and who was
 only his son by adoption, and his brother by birth,
 did not live long. His youngest son, called Alexan-
 der, by a fate still more unhappy than captivity and
 death itself, was reduced to work with his own hands
 for the means of life: and afterwards, as he had
 learnt the Latin tongue, he became a register under
 the magistrates of the city of Alba. What a fall was
 this for the son of the greatest King upon earth, and
 what

what example can be more capable of humbling human pride! A. R. 585.
Ant. C.
167.

Triumphs were also granted to Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius: to the first, for the successes at sea: and to the other, for the conquest of Illyricum. In this last triumph, King Gentius was led before the victor's chariot with his wife, children, brother, and many of the principal persons of his nation. Plut. ibid.
42, 43.

Cotys, King of Thrace, sent to demand his son, who had been imprisoned after having been led in triumph. He excused himself for his attachment to the interests of Perseus, and offered a considerable ransom for the young Prince. The Senate, without accepting his excuses, replied, that having more regard to his former services than his recent fault, they returned him his son, without accepting a ransom. That the Roman People did not sell their favours, and chose rather to leave the value of them in the hearts, and to the gratitude of those they obliged, than to require a price that would dishonour them.

T H E R O M A N H I S T O R Y.

B O O K T H E T W E N T Y - S I X T H.

THIS book contains more than the space of one and twenty years. It includes principally a series of affairs which arose from the war of the Romans with Perseus, the beginnings of the second Scipio Africanus, the third Punic war, and the destruction of Corinth.

S E C T. I.

Ambassadors sent by the Senate into Egypt. They go out of their way to Rhodes. In consequence of their discourse all who had declared for Perseus against the Romans are put to death. Haughtiness of Popilius : Answer of King Antiochus. Return of the Ambassadors to Rome. Embassies of the Kings of Syria and Egypt to Rome. Masgaba, son of Masinissa, comes Ambassador to Rome. He is received there very honourably. Honours paid to his brother Misagenes. The Freedmen are all reduced into a single Tribe. Embassy of Attalus to Rome. He hearkens to the wise remonstrances of Stratius his physician. The Rhodians are ill received at Rome. Harangue of their Ambassadors. Cato declares in favour of the Rhodians. The Senate's answer. The alliance of Rome is at length granted to the Rhodians.

dians. Lamentable complaints of the Ætolians to Paulus Æmilus. They do not obtain justice. The credit and insolence of the partisans of Rome increase extremely. Unjust and cruel policy of the Romans. The Achaians, suspected of having favoured Perseus, are sent to Rome, banished, and dispersed into different cities. The Achaians send several deputations to Rome in favour of the exiles, but always ineffectually. The exiles are at last sent home to their own country. Great friendship between Scipio the younger and Polybius. Meanness of soul of Prusias. End of Livy's history.

IN the preceding book we have seen, that Ptolomy Evergetes and Cleopatra his sister, being vigorously attacked by Antiochus the Illustrious, King of Syria, had sent Ambassadors to the Romans to implore their aid. The Senate, moved with the extreme danger in which Egypt was, and besides convinced, that it was not for the interest of Rome to suffer Antiochus to aggrandize himself so much, resolved to send an embassy to put an end to the war. C. Popilius Lænas, C. Decimius, and C. Hostilius, were charged with this important affair. They were instructed to go first to Antiochus, and afterwards to Ptolomy; to declare to them from the Senate, that they must suspend all hostilities, and put an end to the war: and that, if either of the two refused, the Roman People would no longer consider him as their ally. Knowing that the danger was urgent, three days after the resolution taken in the Senate, they set out from Rome with the Ambassadors of Egypt.

After having stopt some time in the island of Delos, they resumed their route. When they arrived at the port of Lorima in Caria, opposite to Rhodes, the principal persons of the Rhodians came to them, and earnestly desired them to come to Rhodes; representing to them, that it was important for the safety and honour of their Republick, that they should know from themselves what had been done hitherto, and what still actually passed at Rhodes, in order that they

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.
Liv. xliv.
19.
Polyb.
Legat. 90.

Liv. xlv.
10.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.

might inform the Senate of it, and undeceive them in respect to the false reports, which might have been spread against the Rhodians at Rome. The Ambassadors long refused to stop : but the Rhodians pressed them so strongly, that they at length consented to their request.

Liv. xlv.
10.

They went therefore to Rhodes, where it was necessary to make new instances to them, in order to induce them to come into the assembly. But the manner in which they spoke there increased the alarm of a people already trembling, instead of abating it. Popillius reproached them with all that their Republick, or even every particular amongst them, had either done or said against the interests of the Romans, since the war had been declared against the King of Macedonia ; the whole with a countenance glowing with rage, and the tone of an accuser, which was natural to him, and made them besides perceive the wrong they had been guilty of, and the discontent of the Romans. For they judged from the indignation of a single Senator, who had no personal cause of anger against them, of the disposition of the whole order in respect to them. C. Decimius, the second of the Ambassadors, spoke to them with more moderation. For in resuming the discourse of Popillius, he said, “ that most of the faults, with which they were reproached, ought to be attributed, not to the people of Rhodes in general, but to some incendiaries who had animated them against the Romans. That those sycophants, whose tongues were venal, had dictated decrees full of extravagant praises of the King of Macedonia, and charged their Ambassadors with senseless orders, which could not but occasion the Rhodians as much repentance as confusion, and of which the punishment would undoubtedly fall upon the guilty.” He was heard with great applause, and in consequence of what he had opened, a decree was passed immediately, by which all, who should be convicted of having said or done any thing in favour of Perseus, should suffer death. But most of those who were within this case, had

had either quitted the city, when the Romans entered it, or had voluntarily killed themselves. The Ambassadors stayed only five days at Rhodes, and immediately departed for Alexandria.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.

They arrived there, when Antiochus was preparing to besiege it. They went to meet him at Eleusis, a town situated a small quarter of a league from the city. The King seeing Popillius, whom he had known particularly at Rome, whilst he was an hostage, offered him his hand as an old friend. The Roman, who considered himself no longer as a private person, but in a publick character, desired to know, before he received his civility, whether he was speaking to a friend or an enemy of Rome. He presented him the decree of the Senate, and bade him read it. Antiochus, after having done so, said, that he would deliberate upon it with his council, and give him his answer. Popillius, enraged that the King should talk of delays, drew a circle upon the sand round that Prince, with a little staff which he had in his hand; and assuming the haughty air, and severe tone that were natural to him, "Before you quit this circle," said he to him, "give me the answer I am to carry back from you to the Senate." The King dashed at so haughty a proceeding, after a moment's reflexion, replied humbly: "I will do what the Senate demands." Popillius then offered him his hand as the friend and ally of the Commonwealth. What haughtiness of soul, * what insolence of language was this! This Roman, with a few words, terrifies the King of Syria and saves the King of Egypt.

What gave the one so much boldness, and the other so much docility, was the news which had been just before received of the great victory gained by the Romans over Perseus King of Macedonia. From thenceforth every thing gave way before them, and the Roman name became terrible to all Princes and nations.

* Quàm efficax est animi sermonisque abscissa gravitas! Eodem momento Syriæ regnum terruit, Ægypti texit. VAL. MAX.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168. Antiochus having quitted Egypt on the day fixed, Popillius with his Collegues entered Alexandria, where he concluded the treaty of accommodation between the * two brothers, which hitherto had only been in embryo. From thence he went to the island of Cyprus, which Antiochus had almost conquered already, caused it to be restored to the Kings of Egypt, to whom it belonged of right, and returned to Rome to give an account of the success of his embassy.

Liv. xlv.
18. Almost at the same time Ambassadors from Antiochus and the two Ptolomies and Cleopatra their sister, arrived there. The first said, "That the peace which the Senate had thought fit to establish between their master and the Kings of Egypt, seemed preferable to him to all the victories he could have gained, and that he had obeyed the orders of the Roman Ambassadors as those of the Gods themselves." Flattery equally mean and impious! They afterwards congratulated the Roman People upon the victory they had lately gained over Perseus.

The Egyptian Ambassadors, no less excessive than those of Syria, declared: "That the two brothers Ptolomy, and Cleopatra, believed themselves more indebted to the Senate and People of Rome than to their own parents and the Gods themselves, having been delivered by the protection of the Romans from the calamities of a siege, and reinstated upon the throne of their ancestors, from which they were almost entirely expelled."

The Senate replied: "That Antiochus had done wisely in obeying the Ambassadors; and that the Senate and People of Rome were well pleased with him upon that account." Might not one say, that here seems to arise a dispute between adulation and meanness on one side, and haughtiness and arrogance on the other? As to the Ptolomies, and Cleopatra, they were answered: "That the Senate was very glad of

* The two Ptolomies, Philometor and Evergetes. These facts, that are treated here only incidentally, are related more at large in the Ancient History.

having rendered their situation more happy; and that it would endeavour to make them sensible, that they ought to consider the amity and protection of the Roman People as the firmest support of their kingdom." The Prætor had orders to make the Ambassadors the usual presents.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.

This Antiochus, whom we here see so mean and abject, was however surnamed Epiphanes, that is, "Illustrious and Glorious." At his return from Egypt, besides seeing a crown wrested from him by the Romans, of which he had assured himself, and of which he was almost in possession, he made the whole weight of his wrath fall upon the Jews, against whom he exercised the greatest cruelties. The God of Israel, whose worship he had endeavoured to abolish at Jerusalem, let fall his hand upon that impious King, and caused him to die in the midst of the most acute torments. All the events of this Prince's reign, and his miserable death, had been foretold by the prophet Daniel.

Embassies came to Rome from several parts in effect of the defeat of Perseus. Masgaba, the son of Masinissa, having landed at Puteoli, found there the Quæstor L. Manlius, whom the Senate, having had advice of his arrival, had sent to meet him, in order to conduct him to Rome at the expence of the Commonwealth. He was received there in a very honourable manner, and had audience immediately. The things which he had to say to the Senate, though very agreeable of themselves, seemed still more so from the respectful and submissive expressions with which he accompanied them. "After having said something of the cavalry and infantry, elephants and corn, with which his father had supplied the armies of the Roman People, he added, that two things had given him pain, and occasioned confusion. The first was, that the Senate had desired, instead of ordering him, to furnish the Roman People with those aids: and the second, that they had sent money to pay for the corn. That Masinissa had not forgot that he was indebted to

Liv. xlv.
13, 14.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.

the Roman People for his kingdom, and for all the augmentations it had received: that accordingly, considering himself as only the tenant of his dominions, he reckoned the property of them to belong to those who had given them to him. That they therefore ought to use commands and not requests with him; and to dispose, as of their own, of the fruits which the lands produced, that he held from their liberality. That Masinissa should always be contented with such part as the Romans should leave him, after having taken what they should have occasion for. That these were the orders his father had given him at his departure. But that having afterwards received advice of the defeat of Perseus, he had dispatched horse after him with instructions to congratulate the Senate upon it; and to protest, that this news had given him so much joy, that he was earnestly desirous to come to Rome to offer a sacrifice to Jupiter in his temple of the Capitol, in gratitude for so great a blessing; and that he desired the Senate's permission to take that journey."

The Senate answered the young Prince, "That the King carried his gratitude too far, when he declared so high a sense of a benefit which was no more than the just reward of his services. That in the war with Carthage, he had aided the Commonwealth with equal fidelity and valour; and that the Romans were highly pleased with having seconded his bravery in the conquests of the dominions, of which he was in possession. That he had afterwards aided the Romans with the same zeal and attachment in the wars they had sustained against three Kings successively, without ever departing from himself. That it was no wonder, that he took part in the victory of the Romans, who had united his fate with theirs, and had resolved to share good and bad fortune with them. That he ought to be contented with thanking the Gods for the victory of his allies in his own palace; that his son might do it in his name at Rome; and that besides its being useless for him to take so long a journey, the interest itself of the Roman People required, that he

he should not quit his kingdom, nor remove so far from Africa.”

A. R. 584.
Ant. C.
168.

Some time after his departure, the Senate received advice, that Misagenes, another son of Masinissa, having been dismissed by Paulus Æmilius, in transporting his cavalry to Africa, had met with a storm in the Adriatick, which had dispersed his fleet, and driven himself with three of his ships to Brundisium, where he remained sick. The Quæstor L. Stertinius was sent to him, and was ordered to hire him an house in that city, to supply him abundantly with every thing he should have occasion for, and to provide him ships to carry him safely to Africa, as soon as he recovered his health.

This same year, the Censors Ti. Sempronius Gracchus and C. Claudius Pulcher settled an affair in concert, upon which they had long differed. It related to the freedmen, who after having been twice particularly included in the four Tribes called “the Tribes of the city,” had a third time spread into the other Tribes. These city-tribes, *Urbanæ*, were the least honourable, containing only the tradesmen and artificers of Rome; whereas those of the country, *Rusticæ*, were composed of the more considerable citizens, who possessed estates in the country, where many were settled, and others often withdrew. After long contests the Censors reduced all the freedmen into one of the four Tribes of the city called *Esquilina*, decreeing, that for the future, they should give their suffrages in that Tribe only. This regulation did the Censors great honour in the Senate. Cicero ascribes it to Gracchus only, who actually had the greatest share in it: and he gives us a great idea of the wisdom and importance of this decree. “We * find it very difficult, he makes Scævola say, to keep our government in a tolerable state. But if Gracchus had not confined the freedmen within the Tribes only of the

* Atque is (Ti. Gracchus) libertinos in urbanas tribus transtulit: quod nisi fecisset, rempublicam, quam nunc vix tenemus, jamdiu nullam haberemus. Lib. I. de Orat. n. 38.

city, the Commonwealth would long since have been entirely ruined."

A.R. 585.
Ant. C.
167.

Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

M. JUNIUS PENNUS.

Polyb.
Legat. 93.
Liv. xlv.
19, 20.

Amongst the different embassies of Kings and States which came to Rome after the victory gained over Perseus, Attalus attracted the regard and attention of the Romans more than all the rest. He came in the name of his brother Eumenes, to congratulate them upon their new victory, and also to implore their aid against the Gauls of Asia, who had committed great ravages in the dominion of the King of Pergamus. He was received at Rome with all the marks of distinction and amity, that a Prince could expect, who had given proofs in the war of Macedonia of his constant attachment and fidelity exempt from all suspicion.

The extraordinary honours paid to Attalus, the true reasons of which he did not penetrate, soothed him extremely; and in consequence he gave ear to proposals, which in other circumstances would have immediately struck him with horror.

Ibid.

Most of the Romans had no longer any esteem or affection for Eumenes. His secret negotiations with Perseus, of which they had been apprized, made them believe that Prince had never been sincerely in their interest, and that he had only abstained from declaring against them for want of occasion. Full of this prejudice, some of the most distinguished Romans, in their private conversations with Attalus, intimated to him, "that Rome formed very different judgments of himself and his brother. That as to him, he was considered as the true friend of the Romans; and Eumenes, on the contrary, as an ally, who had neither been faithful to them, nor to Perseus. That he was sure of obtaining what he should demand for himself, and what he should ask against his brother, the whole Senate being disposed to grant him at least one

one half of his brother's kingdom. That accordingly, when he should appear before the Senate, he ought to confine himself solely to that demand, and to speak only of his own interests, without mentioning the affair for which his brother had sent him." What a proposal was this made to a brother against his brother and King! These strokes of self-interested policy, which began then to take place amongst the Romans, may serve as a key to explain their conduct on other occasions, wherein they more industriously conceal it.

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Ant. C.
167.

The temptation was great to a Prince, who doubtless did not want ambition, and to whom the occasion of satisfying it presented itself without being sought. He therefore hearkened to these bad counsels; and the more, as they were given him by some of the principal persons of Rome, of great reputation for wisdom and probity. He promised them, that he would demand in the Senate, that part of his brother's kingdom should be given him.

Attalus had a physician with him, called Stratius, whom Eumenes had caused to attend him to Rome, to assist him in his conduct, and to keep him by wise counsels within the bounds of his duty, in case he should incline to depart from it. Stratius had, with penetration, manners highly insinuating and persuasive. Having either apprehended, or known from Attalus himself, the design with which he had been inspired, he took the advantage of some favourable moments, for making judicious remonstrances to him: "That the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of itself and but lately established, had only subsisted and been augmented by the union and good intelligence of the brothers in possession of it. That only one of them indeed bore the name of King, and wore the diadem, but that they all reigned in reality. That Eumenes having no male issue (for the son he had, and who reigned afterwards, was not then known) must leave his throne to the brother immediately next to himself. That consequently the right of At-

A. R. 585.
Ant. C.
167.

Attalus to succeed in the kingdom was incontestable; and that, considering the age and infirmities of his brother, the time for succeeding him could not be very remote. Wherefore then should he anticipate and hasten, by an unjust and criminal enterprize, what would soon happen by a natural and legitimate means? Did he intend to divide the kingdom with his brother, or deprive him of it entirely? That if he only had a part of it, both weakened by such partition, and exposed to the insults of their neighbours, might soon be alike deprived of the whole. That if he aspired at reigning alone, what would become of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live as a private person, or would he banish him at his years and with his infirmities, or put him to death? That he did not doubt, but such thoughts would give him horror. That not to mention the tragical ends of fraternal discord related in books, the quite recent example of Perseus ought to strike him. That that unfortunate Prince, who had shed his brother's blood to secure the crown to himself, pursued by the divine vengeance, had lately laid down the same crown at the feet of a victor in the temple of Samothracia, in a manner before the eyes and by the order of the Gods, who preside there, the witnesses and avengers of his guilt. That the very persons who flattered the ambition of Attalus, more out of hatred for Eumenes than amity for him, would praise his moderation and greatness of soul, if he persisted in his fidelity to his brother, to the last."

Of what value upon a like occasion ought a sincere, prudent, and disinterested friend to appear! What an advantage is it for a Prince to give those who approach him the liberty of speaking their thoughts freely, and to be known to them in that light! The wise representations of Stratius had their effect upon the mind of Attalus. When that Prince was introduced to the Senate, without speaking against his brother, or asking to share the kingdom of Pergamus with him, he contented himself with congratulating the Senate in
the

the name of Eumenes and his brothers upon the victory, that had lately terminated the war of Macedonia. He mentioned with great modesty his own services in that war. He desired, that Ambassadors might be sent to check the insolence of the Gauls, who ravaged the countries dependant upon Pergamus, and to put a stop to the hostilities of those Barbarians. He concluded with demanding for himself in particular the investiture of Ænos and Maronæa, cities of Thrace, which had been conquered by Philip, father of Perseus, and disputed with him by Eumenes.

The Senate imagining, that Attalus would demand a second audience, in order to speak in particular of his own pretensions to a part of his brother's kingdom, promised, that they would send the Ambassadors, and made the Prince the usual presents. They also promised to put him into possession of the two cities he had demanded. But, when it was known that he was set out from Rome, the Senate, offended to see, that he had not done what they expected from him, and not being able to revenge themselves in any other manner, they revoked the promise which personally regarded him, and before the Prince was out of Italy, declared Ænos and Maronæa free and independant cities. However, an embassy was sent to the Gauls; but with what orders is not said.

The Roman policy here shews itself in full light, and that in a manner which highly disgraces not only some particulars, but the whole Senate, to whom Polybius ascribes the low and unworthy revenge, with which it punished the laudable fidelity of Attalus in respect to his brother, and his declining to betray him by the black treachery he was advised to perpetrate. Livy, whose admiration for the Romans has no bounds, does not mention this last circumstance, which might indeed disgrace them not a little in the sense of every impartial reader; and he concludes this circumstance with saying: "Attalus received at Rome, as long as he was there and when he quitted it, all the presents and all the honours which the Senate and

A. R. 585. People usually grant to those they most esteem." Such
 Ant. C. an omission is no small fault in an historian *, whose
 167. principal duty is, first never to advance any thing
 false; and secondly, not to fear saying all that is true:
 in a word, to avoid even the suspicion of saying any
 thing through favour or enmity to persons.

Polyb. The Rhodians came next in play. Full of anxiety
 Legat. 93. they had sent two embassies to Rome upon the necks
 99, 100, of each other. But the Senate at first refused to hear
 & 104. them, as having rendered themselves unworthy of that
 Liv. xlv. honour, and declaring war against them was even
 20, 25. talked of. At length, after great instances having
 obtained an audience of the Senate, they appeared
 at it as suppliants, dressed in mourning habits, with
 Ibid. their cheeks bathed in tears. Astymedes spoke, and
 with all the signs of the most lively and most humble
 grief took upon him the defence of his unfortunate
 country. " He at first took great care not to seem
 to intend to justify it. He owned, that it had justly
 drawn upon it the anger of the Roman People: he
 owned the faults it had committed: he did not palliate
 the wrong their indiscreet embassy had done, which
 insolent haughtiness of him who spoke had rendered
 still more criminal. But he desired the Senate to
 make a difference between the whole body of the na-
 tion, and some particulars, whose conduct they dis-
 avowed, and whom they were ready to deliver up to
 them. He represented, that there was no city nor
 Commonwealth that had not in it some senseless and
 frantic members. That after all, no other crimes were
 imputed to them but words, foolish, rash, and extra-
 vagant indeed, (which he owned to be the character
 and failing of his nation) but of which the wise sel-
 dom take much notice, and do not punish with the
 utmost rigour, no more than Jupiter darts his thunder
 upon all those who speak of him with little respect."
 " But, added he, the neutrality we observed in the

* Prima est historiæ lex, ne quid falsi dicere audeat; deinde, ne
 quid veri non audeat: ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo, ne qua
 similitudinis. Cic. de Orat. II. 62.

“ late war, is considered as a certain proof of our ill-
 “ will to you. * Is there a tribunal in the world, in
 “ which the intention, when without effect, is punish-
 “ ed as the action itself? But should you carry your
 “ rigour to that excess, the punishment cannot with
 “ justice fall upon any but those who have had that
 “ intention, and much the greatest number of us are
 “ innocent. And even supposing that this neutrality
 “ and inaction render us criminal, are the real services
 “ we did you in the two preceding wars to be reckon-
 “ ed as nothing, and may they not cover the omission
 “ imputed to us for the last? Let Philip, Antiochus,
 “ and Perseus be considered as three suffrages in our
 “ cause; the two first will certainly be for us, and
 “ carry it in our favour; and the third, though taken
 “ in the strictest sense, will appear doubtful and un-
 “ certain. Can you, in this light, pass sentence of
 “ death against Rhodes? For your sentence is upon
 “ the point of deciding, whether it shall subsist any
 “ longer, or be entirely destroyed? You may, if you
 “ please, declare war against us; but you cannot make
 “ it: for not a single Rhodian will take arms to de-
 “ fend himself. If you persevere in your anger, we
 “ shall only ask time to go to Rhodes to report our
 “ unfortunate embassy; and that instant all the men,
 “ women, and free persons of our state will embark
 “ with all our estates and effects: abandoning the
 “ Gods of our country and our household Gods, we
 “ shall come to Rome, and after having thrown all our
 “ gold and silver at your feet, we will all deliver up
 “ ourselves to your discretion. We will suffer here
 “ before your eyes all that you shall decree. If Rhodes
 “ is destined to be plundered and burnt, at least we
 “ shall spare ourselves the sight of its destruction.
 “ You may, by your sentence, declare us enemies:
 “ but there is a secret sense within ourselves, that will
 “ pass one quite different; and whatever hostilities you

* Neque moribus neque egibus ullius civitatis ita comaratum esse,
 ut, si quis vellet inimicum perire, si nihil fecerit quo id fiat, capitis
 damnetur. LIV.

A. R. 585. “ exercise against the Rhodians, you will find in them
 Ant. C. “ only friends and vassals.”
 167.

After this discourse, all the Deputies prostrated themselves upon the ground, and holding olive branches in their hands, extended them towards the Senators to implore peace of them. When they had withdrawn, the Senate proceeded to give their suffrages. All who had served in Macedonia as Consuls, Prætors, or Lieutenant-Generals, and had seen their senseless pride and ill-will to the Romans with their own eyes, were much against them. Cato, so well known for the severity of his character, which often rose even to cruelty, was softened at this time in favour of the Rhodians, and spoke for them in a very lively and eloquent manner. Livy does not repeat his discourse, because it was then extant in a work of Cato's, intitled, *de Originibus*, of which we have spoken elsewhere, and in which he inserted his harangues.

Liv. xlv.
 20, 25.

Aulius Gellius has preserved some fragments of this speech of Cato's, by which it appears, that he used almost the same reasons as the Rhodian Ambassadors. I shall cite what I think the most remarkable in it at the bottom of the page, in order to give the reader some examples of a manly and energic style, which was the character of the Roman eloquence in those antient times, when people were more attentive to the force and solidity of thoughts, than to the elegance and harmony of words.

Cato begins his discourse with representing to the Romans, that they ought not, in consequence of the victory gained over the King of Macedonia, to abandon themselves to the transports of excessive joy.
 “ * I know, says he, that prosperity usually begets
 “ pride and insolence ; for which reason I am afraid,
 “ lest in the present deliberation some bad resolution
 “ may

* Scio solere plerisque hominibus rebus secundis atque prolixis animum excellere, superbiam atque ferociam augescere atque crescere : quod mihi nunc magnæ curæ est, quia hæc res tam secundè processit, ne quid in consulendo adversi eveniat, quod nostras secundas res confutet ; neve hæc lætitia nimis luxuriosè eveniat. Adversæ res se domant,

“ may be taken, which will draw upon Rome some
 “ misfortune, that may make the frivolous joy to
 “ which she abandons herself vanish. Adversity in
 “ humbling our pride, restores us to our reason, and
 “ teaches us what it is fit for us to do. Prosperity, on
 “ the contrary, by the joy it occasions, puts us out of
 “ our bias, and makes us lose sight of the end, which
 “ a calm situation of mind would make us perceive
 “ and follow. For this reason I am absolutely of
 “ opinion, that we should defer the decision of this
 “ affair for some days, till having recovered from the
 “ violent emotions of our joy, we come to possess
 “ ourselves, and can deliberate more maturely.—I
 “ believe indeed that the Rhodians did wish, that the
 “ Romans had not conquered Perseus: but that de-
 “ sire is only common to them with all other States.
 “ And this is not the effect of enmity to the Romans,
 “ but love of their own liberty, for which they have
 “ just reason to fear, if there be no longer any power
 “ capable of balancing ours, and of preventing us
 “ from doing all that we think fit—For the rest,
 “ the Rhodians have not aided Perseus. Their whole
 “ crime, by the confession of their most inveterate
 “ accusers, is to have intended to become our ene-
 “ mies, and to declare against us. But how long has
 “ the will, the intention only become criminal? Is

mant, & docent quid opus sit factō: Secundæ res lætitiâ transversum
 trudere solent a rectè consulendo atque intelligendo. Quo majore
 opere edico suadeoque, uti hæc res aliquot dies proferatur, dum ex
 tanto gaudio in Potestatem nostrum redeamus—Atque ego quidem
 arbitror Rhodienses voluisse nos ita depugnare uti depugnatum est,
 neque regem Persen viciisse Non Rhodienses id modo voluere, sed
 multos populos ac multas nationes idem voluisse arbitror. Atque haud
 scio, an partim eorum fuerint, qui non nostræ contumeliæ causa id no-
 luerint evenire. Sed enim id metuere, si nemo esset homo quem ve-
 reremur, & quicquid luberet faceremus, ne sub solo imperio nostro in
 servitute nostra essent. Libertatis suæ causâ in ea fuisse sententia ar-
 bitror. Atque Rhodienses tamen Persen publicè nunquam adjuvere.
 Qui accerrimè adversus eos dicit, ita dicit: hostes voluisse fieri. Et
 quis tandem & nostrum, qui, quod ad sese attinet, æquum censeat
 quempiam pœnas dare ob eam rem, quòd arguatur malè facere voluisse?
 Nemo, opinor: nam ego, quod ad me attinet, nolim. Rhodienses
 superbos esse aiunt—Sint sanè superbi. Quid id ad nos attinet?
 Inde irascimini, si quis superbior est quàm nos? CATO apud Aul.
 Gell. vii. 3.

“ there

A. R. 585. " there amongst us a single person who would subject
 Ant. C. " himself to this rule? For my part I would not.
 167. " The Rhodians are proud, some say. What is that
 " to us? Would it become us to make it a crime for
 " them to be prouder than we are."

Liv. xlv. The opinion of so grave and so respected a Senator
 25. as Cato, prevented war from being made against the
 Rhodians. The answer given them did not declare
 them enemies, but at the same time did not treat them
 as allies, and left things still in suspense. They were
 ordered to withdraw the governors they had in the
 cities of Lycia and Caria. Those provinces had been
 abandoned to them after the defeat of Antiochus, and
 they were deprived of them on the present occasion by
 way of punishment for their infidelity. They were
 also ordered some time after to evacuate the cities
 Caunus and Stratonicea. They had bought the first
 for two hundred talents of Ptolomy's Generals, and
 the second had been given them by Antiochus and
 Seleucus. Their yearly revenue from these two cities
 was an hundred and twenty talents.

The Senate's answer having dispelled the fear at
 Rhodes, that the Romans would take arms against
 their Republick, made all other ills seem light; and
 it is usual for the expectation of great misfortunes,
 when people see themselves delivered from them, to
 stifle the sense of such, as in other circumstances would
 have seemed very considerable. How hard soever the
 Senate's orders were, the Rhodians submitted to them,
 and executed them directly. They immediately de-
 creed the Romans a crown of ten thousand pieces of
 gold in value, and made choice of the Admiral Theo-
 dotus to present it.

Polyb. He had orders to solicit the alliance of the Ro-
 Legat. mans: reasons of policy had prevented them from
 104. asking it hitherto. This favour was not granted them
 then. They did not obtain it till the year following,
 after long and great instances. Tiberius Gracchus,
 who was very lately returned from Asia, whither he
 had been sent as commissioner to examine into the
 state

state of it, was of great service to them. He declared, that the Rhodians had punctually obeyed the Senate's orders, and had passed sentence of death upon the partisans of Perseus. After so favourable a testimony, the alliance of the Commonwealth was granted to the Rhodians.

A. R. 585.
Ant. C.
167.

I have observed in the preceding book, that the Ætolians had presented themselves to Paulus Æmilius in mourning habits on his return from making the tour of Greece. The subject of their complaint was, that Liciscus and Tisippus, whom the credit of the Romans, to whom they had devoted themselves, had rendered all-powerful in Ætolia, had surrounded the Senate with soldiers, lent them by Bæbius, who commanded in the country for the Romans; that they had massacred five hundred and fifty of the principal persons of the nation, whose whole crime was having appeared to favour Perseus; that many others had been banished; and that the estates of both had been given to those who informed against them.

Liv. xlvj
18.

If Paulus Æmilius had been sole judge in this affair, it is probable that he would have done justice to the Ætolians. In all the occasions wherein he acts from his own sense, he shews a generous soul, that abounds with sentiments of humanity. But the council of the commissioners was actuated by different principles. All the informations made to them were reduced to knowing, not who had done or suffered wrong, but who had been for Perseus or for the Romans. The murderers in consequence were acquitted. The exiles had no more justice done them than the dead. Only Bæbius was sentenced, for having lent his assistance in this bloody execution. But why was he condemned, if it was just; and if not, why were those acquitted, who were the principal authors of it?

Ibid. 214

This sentence spread terror amongst all those who declared any attachment to Perseus, and extremely augmented the haughtiness and insolence of the Roman adherents. Amongst the principal persons of each city, there were three parties. The one was en-

Ibid.

A. R. 585. tirely devoted to the Romans, another was in amity
 Ant. C. 167. with the Kings; and both making their court to their
 protectors with abject flattery, rendered themselves
 powerful in their cities, which they greatly oppressed.
 The third party of citizens, opposite to the two others,
 observed a kind of medium, espousing the party neither
 of the Romans nor of the Kings, but devoted them-
 selves to the defence of their laws and liberty. These
 last at bottom were much esteemed and beloved in
 their respective cities, but had no authority in them.
 All offices, embassies, distinctions, and rewards, after
 the defeat of Perseus, were conferred on those who
 had followed the party of the Romans, and they em-
 ployed their credit to ruin those inevitably, who were
 not in the same interest.

With this view, they repaired in great numbers from
 all parts of Greece to the commissioners appointed by
 the Senate to regulate its affairs. They informed
 them, that besides those, who had openly declared
 for Perseus, there were many others secretly enemies
 to the Romans, and who, under pretence of support-
 ing liberty, prejudiced every body against Rome;
 and that Greece would never remain quiet and entirely
 submissive to the Romans, unless that after having
 crushed the opposite party, the authority of those was
 firmly established, who had no interest at heart but
 that of the Roman Commonwealth. The ten com-
 missioners perfectly approved all these reflexions, and
 made them the rule of their conduct.

What justice can be expected from a tribunal, de-
 termined to consider and treat all as criminals, who are
 not of the Roman party, and to bestow all kinds of
 favour upon those, who will declare themselves ene-
 mies and informers against them? We see here to
 what the ambition of rule leads mankind. It makes
 them blind to all sense of duty and decency; and jus-
 tice itself, when an obstacle to the projects they have
 formed, is sacrificed as well as every thing else.
 The more we advance in the history of the Romans,
 the more corrupt we see them, and the more they de-
 part

part from the antient sentiments of generosity and equity, to abandon themselves to a policy contrary to all the rules of virtue. The consequences of these new maxims are upon the point of evidencing themselves by the most unjust and notorious persecution it is possible to imagine.

A. R. 585.
Ant. C.
167.

The Roman General, in effect of orders which he did not approve, but which he thought himself obliged to execute, having received the list of the names of the suspected, sent for them from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, and ordered them to follow him to Rome, to defend themselves against what was laid to their charge. Commissioners were also sent to Asia, to take informations against those, who had favoured Perseus either publicly or in secret.

Of all the little States of Greece none gave the Roman Commonwealth so much umbrage as the Achaian league, which had hitherto caused itself to be respected by the number and valour of its troops, the ability of its Generals, and especially by the union that prevailed between the cities which composed it. The Romans, who had long been jealous of a power capable of opposing their ambitious designs, especially if it had joined either the King of Macedonia or the King of Syria, had laboured on different occasions to weaken, by dividing, it: but it was not till the present conjuncture, that they began to act with open violence, and to trample under foot the rights and liberty of the Achaian Commonwealth.

Liv. xlv.
Pausan.
in Achaic.
p. 416, 117.

After the defeat of Perseus, Callicrates, entirely to ruin the advocates of liberty, whom he considered as his enemies with the Romans, to whom he had sold himself, gave in the names of all the suspected to have favoured Perseus to the ten commissioners. They did not think it sufficed to write to the Achaians, as they had done to the other States, to order them to send such of their citizens as were accused of having favoured Perseus to Rome; but they deputed two of their own number to go in person to make known this order to the League. Two reasons induced them to

A. R. 585.
Ant. C.
167.

act in this manner. The first was the fear lest the Achaïans, who were very jealous of their liberty and full of courage, should refuse to obey the letters, which should be sent them, and that Callicrates and the other informers should run the risque of losing their lives in the assembly: the second was, that nothing was found amongst Perseus's papers to convict the Achaïans informed against; and they were however for destroying them.

The two commissioners sent into Achaia were C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. The one of them, more prone to injustice than the other, (Pausanias who has preserved this fact does not say which) complained in the assembly, that many of the most powerful persons of the league had supported Perseus against the Romans, and demanded that they should be condemned to suffer death, after which he should name them. This proposal shocked the whole Assembly. They cried out on all sides, that it was unheard of for persons to be condemned before they were accused, and he was desired to point out the guilty. Being thus forced to explain himself, he replied, at the suggestion of Callicrates, that all those who had been in office, and had commanded the armies, were guilty of that crime. Zeno then, who was highly considered amongst the Achaïans, rising up spoke as follows: "I am of the number of those who have been Prætors, and commanded the armies. I protest, that I have acted in nothing contrary to the interests of the Romans; and I offer to prove it; either in this assembly of the Achaïans, or at Rome before the Senate." The Roman laid hold of his last words, as favouring his design, and ordered that all those whom Callicrates had informed against in particular, and whom he named, should be sent to Rome.

The whole assembly were in the highest affliction. Nothing of the like nature had ever appeared, not even under Philip, nor his son Alexander. All-powerful as they were, they never thought of making those who were against them come to Macedonia.

There

There were regular tribunals in Greece, in which the affairs of the Greeks were determined according to all the formalities prescribed by the laws. Those Princes left the decision of such affairs to the council of the Amphietyones, their natural judges. The Romans did not act in this manner. By an enterprize which may be called tyrannical, they caused above a thousand of the most considerable citizens of the Achaian league to be seized and carried to Rome. Callicrates became more than ever the object of horror and detestation to all the Achaians. They shunned the sight of him as of an infamous traitor, and nobody would bathe in the publick baths after him, till all the water had first been emptied out of them.

Polybius, the famous historian, was of the number of these accused persons. When they arrived at Rome, the Senate, without hearing them, without examining their cause, or observing any form of justice, and supposing without the least foundation, and contrary to what was publickly known, that they had been heard and condemned in the assembly of the Achaians, banished them all into Hetruria, where they remained dispersed in the different cities. Polybius was treated with less rigor. The two sons of Paulus Æmilius obtained permission for him to stay at Rome. This service to Polybius was of great advantage to themselves, as I shall soon observe: but first it is necessary to relate in this place all that concerns the unhappy condition of these exiles.

The Achaians, extremely surprized and afflicted at the fate of their countrymen, sent Deputies to Rome to desire that the Senate would take cognizance of their cause. They were answered, that had been done, and that themselves had tried it. Upon this answer, the Achaians sent the same Deputies back to Rome, (Eureas was at their head) to protest again before the Senate, that the accused had never been heard in their country, and that their affair had never been brought to a trial. Eureas accordingly entered the Senate with the other Deputies, who accompanied him. He

Polyb.
Legat.
205.

A. R. 585.
Ant. C.
167.

related the orders he had received, and desired, that cognizance might at length be taken of the affair, and that the accused should not be suffered to perish without judgment passed on the crime with which they were charged. That it was to be desired that the Senate itself would enquire into the affair, and make known the guilty: but that, if their greater occupations did not afford them leisure, they had only to refer the affair to the Achæians, who would do justice in it in such a manner as should shew the aversion they had for the offenders.

Nothing was more equitable than this demand; and the Senate in consequence was extremely at a loss, how to answer it. On the one side, they did not believe it proper for them to try it, for the accusation was entirely false: and on the other, to dismiss the exiles without any trial, was to condemn their first conduct, and besides irretrievably to ruin their friends in Achæia. The Senate, to leave the Greeks no hopes of recovering their exiles, and to make them more dependant and submissive to their orders, wrote to Callistrates in Achæia, and to the partisans of Rome in the other States, that it did not appear for their interest, nor that of the States themselves, that the exiles should return into their country. This answer not only put the exiles, but all Greece, into a consternation. It caused an universal mourning. Every body was assured, that there was nothing further to be hoped for the accused Achæians, and that their banishment was perpetual.

Polyb.
Legat.
322.

However, the Achæian Commonwealth sent new Deputies whom they instructed to demand the return of the exiles, and especially of Polybius and Stratius: for most of the rest had died during their banishment, and especially the principal persons. These Deputies had orders to ask this favour as suppliants, lest, by insisting upon the innocence of the exiles, they might seem to reproach the injustice of the Senate. Nothing escaped them in their harangue, that was not extremely reserved. Notwithstanding that, the Senate continued inflex-

inflexible, and declared they would adhere to what had been regulated. Is the ancient Senate of Rome to be seen in this conduct?

A. R. 585.
Ant. C.
167.

The Achæians did not desist, but decreed several deputations at different times. They had reason to persevere so much in applying to the Senate in favour of their countrymen. Though their repeated instances had no other effect than to set the injustice of the Romans in greater light, they cannot be considered as useless. But many of the Senators had been moved with them, and supported so just a demand with their voices.

Polyb.
Legat.
129, 130.

The Achæians having received advice of this, thought it necessary to take the advantage of so favourable a disposition, and decreed a last deputation. The exiles had now been banished seventeen years, and many of them were dead. Great debates arose in the Senate about them, some being for having them sent back into their country, and reinstated in their fortunes, and others opposing it. Scipio Æmilianus, at the request of Polybius, had solicited Cato in their favour. That grave Senator rising up to speak in his turn: "To see us disputing an whole day," said he, "whether a few old men of Greece shall be buried by our grave-diggers, or those of their own country, one would think we had nothing to do, and that our purpose was to murder time." * This jest perhaps had its effect, and made the Senate ashamed of their long tenacious opposition. Policy also might have more share than regard to justice in the Senate's suffering themselves to be at last prevailed upon. It was when they were upon the point of entering into a war with Carthage, that they dismissed these exiles. It is probable that they were glad to give the Achæians some satisfaction, at the time, when they were going to have such powerful enemies as the Carthaginians upon their hands.

Plut. in
Caton.
P. 341.

* *Ridiculum acri Fortus ac melius magnas plerumque secat res.*
HORAT.

A.R. 585.
Ant. C.
367.

Polybius was further for desiring, that they should be reinstated in the honours and dignities they possessed before their banishment : but before he presented his memorial to the Senate, he thought it proper to sound Cato, who smiling said to him. “ Polybius, you do “ not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. You are for “ going back into the cave of the Cyclops for some “ wretched cloaths you have left there.” The exiles returned in consequence into their country : but of a thousand that came out of it at that time, only about three hundred remained. Polybius did not use this permission ; or if he did, it was not long before he re-joined Scipio, as three years after he was with him at the siege of Carthage,

Polyb. a-
pud Vales.
149, 150.

Scipio, when but eighteen years old, had contracted a great intimacy with Polybius after his return from Macedonia. They had been a little acquainted before. But it was undoubtedly upon the occasion of the important service done Polybius, as we have said above, by the sons of Paulus Æmilius, that Scipio contracted this friendship with him, which became so advantageous to that young Roman, and which has scarce done him less honour with posterity than all his victories. It appears, that Polybius lived with the two brothers. One day when Scipio was alone with him, he opened his heart to him without reserve, and complained, but in a very kind and tender manner, that Polybius always addressed his discourse in their conversations at table to his brother Fabius. “ I perceive plainly,” said he, “ that this indifference for me proceeds from “ your believing, that I am a thoughtless young man, “ and void of the taste that now prevails in Rome, “ because I neither apply myself to the studies of the “ bar, nor cultivate eloquence. But how should I do “ so. I am perpetually told, that the world does not “ expect an orator from the house of the Scipio’s but “ a General. I must own, and hope you will pardon “ the freedom, with which I tell you so, that I am “ sensibly concerned and afflicted by your indifference “ for me.”

Poly-

Polybius, surprized at this discourse, which he did not expect, consoled him as well as he could, and assured him, “ that if he usually addressed his discourse to his brother, it was not for want of esteem and affection for him, but solely because Fabius was the elder; and besides knowing that both brothers thought in the same manner, and lived in the greatest union, he believed that speaking to the one was speaking to both.” “ For the rest,” added he, “ I offer you my service sincerely, and you may dispose absolutely of me. As to the Sciences in the study of which you are now employed, you will find assistance enough from the great number of learned men who come every day from Greece to Rome: but as to war, which is peculiarly your profession as well as your passion, it is in my power to be of some use to you.”

Scipio then taking him by the hands, which he pressed in his own: “ Oh! when,” said he, “ shall I see the day, when free from all other engagements, and living with me, you will have the goodness to apply yourself in forming me. It will be then that I shall really believe myself worthy of my ancestors.” From thenceforth Polybius, charmed and tenderly affected with such noble sentiments in a young man, attached himself particularly to him. Scipio, on his side, could not quit him; his greatest pleasure was to converse with him: he respected him as his father, and Polybius on his side loved him as his son. The sequel will shew, how much Scipio improved from the conversations and advice of so inestimable a friend; an inestimable treasure for young Noblemen, when they are so happy to acquire, and so wise as to know, its value.

Prusias, King of Bithynia, being come to Rome to congratulate the Senate and People upon the good success of the war against Perseus, degraded the Majesty of Kings by his abject flatteries, which rose even to impiety. He had before exercised himself in that stile: and when Roman Ambassadors had been sent to

A. R. 585.
Ant. C.
167.

A. R. 585. to him, he went to meet them with his head shaved,
 Ant. C. a cap, and the dress of freedmen; then saluting the
 167. Deputies: "You see," said he to them, "one of
 "your freedmen, ready to do whatever you please,
 "and to conform entirely to all your customs." He
 did not depart from the same abject sentiments, when
 he came in person to Rome. On his entering the
 Senate, he kept near the door, holding down his
 hands, opposite to the Senators who continued sitting;
 and prostrating himself kissed the threshold. After-
 wards, addressing himself to the assembly he cried out,
 "I salute you, Gods preservers." The rest of his
 discourse suited this prelude. Polybius says, that he
 should be ashamed to repeat it. Prusias concluded
 with asking, "that the Roman People would renew
 the alliance with him; and grant him a certain terri-
 tory conquered from Antiochus, which the Gauls had
 seized without its being given them by any body.
 And lastly, he recommended his son Nicomedes to
 them." Every thing was granted him: only com-
 missioners were appointed to examine the state of the
 territory in question, and to be assured whether it be-
 longed to Antiochus, in which case the Roman Peo-
 ple freely gave it to Prusias.

Livy, in his relation of this audience, omits the
 abject submissions of Prusias, of which he says the
 Roman historians did not speak. He contents him-
 self with repeating at the end, part of what Polybius
 had said of it. He had reason. For this base beha-
 viour, if real, disgraced the Senate as much that suf-
 fered it, as the Prince that committed it.

Here ends all that remains of Livy. His Roman
 History, containing an hundred and forty, or an hun-
 dred and forty-two books, extended from the founda-
 tion of Rome, to the death and funeral of Drusus,
 which happened in the 743d year of Rome, and con-
 sequently included the same number of years. Of
 these hundred and forty-two books only thirty-five,
 as I have already observed, are come down to us, of
 which some are not entire. These are not the fourth
 part

part of his work. What a loss is this to the learned world! My history, for the rest of it, will make it evident. I ought not to wonder that hitherto it has not displeased the public. The beauties of Livy, which were the admiration of Rome at a time, when taste had attained its highest perfection, and which have been universally admired by all succeeding ages, though much diminished in a foreign tongue, could not but meet with some success, especially in an age like ours, which has had, and still retains, so much similitude with that of Augustus. Plutarch, who will now be my principal guide, will console me in some degree for the loss of Livy.

In the sequel I shall make great use of the supplement of Freinshemius. The reader may see what I have said of that excellent work, in a former Volume.

But notwithstanding the lights which I shall have both from ancient and modern authors, there will still be barren years from time to time, that will afford but little matter, and facts, of which the exact date cannot be assigned. Thus I shall not be able to dispose my history by years with the same regularity as in the preceding books. I shall however take care to avoid confusion: and without determining the year, in which each fact passed, because that is impossible, I shall join those together which have any relation to each other.

S E C T. II.

Different embassies at Rome. The Senate prevents Eumenes from entering Rome. Prusias by his Ambassadors accuses Eumenes before the Senate. Attalus and Athenæus justify their brother Eumenes. Imprudent conduct of Sulpicius in Asia against Eumenes. Alliance renewed with Ariarathes Philopator. Censorship of Paulus Æmilius and of Marcius Philippus. Sun-dial. Troubles in Syria after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. Demetrius demands in vain permission of the Senate to return into Syria. Murder of Octavius. Demetrius escapes from Rome, and is universally acknowledged King. Sickneſs and death of Paulus Æmilius: his funeral; and praise. Love of poverty of Tubero, and his wife the daughter of Paulus Æmilius. Generous and noble use which Scipio Æmilianus, the son of Paulus Æmilius, makes of his riches on various occasions. Tubero compared with Scipio Æmilianus. Nafica prevails upon the People to have a Theatre almost finished, demolished. AFFAIRS OF ROME. Decree for banishing philosophers and rhetoricians from Rome. Embassy of Carneades to Rome. Two Consuls abdicate upon account of the want of some religious forms in their election. Tribune of the People punished for having failed in respect to the Pontifex Maximus. WARS with the Dalmatians and some states of the Ligurians. The Dalmatians are defeated by Figulus and Nafica. The Massylians are revenged by the Romans on the Oxibians and Deceates. AFFAIRS OF MACEDONIA. Andriscus, who calls himself the son of Perseus, seizes Macedonia. He is at length defeated, taken, and sent to Rome. Two new impostors rise up in Macedonia, and are defeated.

M. CLAUDIUS.

C. SULPICIUS.

WE have already observed, that since the defeat of Perseus new Embassies came every day to Rome, either to congratulate the Romans upon that victory, to justify themselves or excuse the attachment they seemed to have for that Prince, or lastly, to lay complaints before the Senate.

A.R. 586.
Ant. C.
166.

Prusias was scarce set out, when news came that Eumenes was upon the point of arriving. This advice perplexed the Senate. That Prince, in the war with Perseus, had acted in such a manner as to be considered neither as a friend, nor an enemy. There were violent suspicions, not certain proofs against him. To admit him to an audience was to declare him innocent: and to condemn him as criminal, was to lay themselves under the necessity of making war with him, and openly to proclaim, that they had been wanting in point of prudence in loading a Prince with honours and possessions, whose character they had little known. To avoid these inconveniences, the Senate passed a decree, by which all Kings were prohibited from coming to Rome; and they caused this decree to be signified to the King of Pergamus, who was not at a loss to comprehend the sense of it. Accordingly he returned into his dominions.

Polyb.
Legat. 97.

This affront encouraged his enemies, and cooled the ardour of his friends. Prusias sent Ambassadors to Rome, to complain of the irruptions which he made into Bithynia. He added, that that Prince held secret intelligence with Antiochus, that he oppressed all those who seemed to favour the Romans, and in particular the Gallo-Grecians his neighbours, not observing the decrees of the Senate in respect to them. The latter had also sent Deputies to Rome, to carry their complaints thither, which they often repeated afterwards, as well as Prusias. The Senate did not declare themselves yet. They contented themselves with

Ibid. 104.

A. R. 586. with aiding and supporting the Gallo-Greeks as much
 Ant. C. as possible underhand, without openly injuring Eu-
 166. menes.

Polyb.
 Legat.
 106.

The King of Pergamus, who had been forbade to enter Rome, sent Attalus and Athenæus his two brothers thither, to answer the accusations with which he was charged. The apology which they made, seemed solidly to refute all the complaints, that had been brought against the King; and the Senate was so well satisfied with them, that they were sent back into Asia with great honours and presents. They however did not entirely efface the impressions conceived against their brother. They could not be persuaded, that there was no intelligence and combination formed between him and the King of Syria. And though Tiberius Gracchus, who had been sent some time before into Asia to enquire into the disposition of the Kings and States in respect to Rome, had given a favourable account of the conduct of those two Princes, who had treated him with all possible politeness and respect, the Senate again dispatched Manius Servius and Sulpicius Gallus with orders to penetrate things to the bottom, and strictly to examine the conduct of Eumenes and Antiochus.

Polyb. in
 Excerpt.
 Val. 145.

Sulpicius acted in this commission in a very imprudent manner. He was a vain man, who loved noise, and sought to make a figure by braving Eumenes. When he arrived in Asia, he caused publick notices to be fixed up in all the cities, that those who had any complaints to make in respect to that Prince should come to him at Sardis. There, during ten days, he gave a calm hearing to all the accusations people thought fit to form against Eumenes: a liberty which set all the malecontents at work, and opened the door for all kinds of calumnies.

Polyb.
 Legat.
 109.

About this time died Ariarathes King of Cappadocia, whose sister Eumenes had married. His son Ariarathes, surnamed Philopator, succeeded him. The father had intended, when his son came of age, to resign the crown to him, but the young Prince would

not

not consent to it : this occasioned him to be called *Philopator*, that is “ Lover of his father :” a very laudable action, at a time when it was common for Princes to acquire Thrones by parricide ! As soon as young Ariarathes became King, he sent Deputies to Rome to demand, that the alliance, which his father had with the Romans might be renewed : this was granted him with great professions of esteem and good will. The Senate was prejudiced in favour of these Princes, in consequence of the report which Ti. Gracchus had made of their disposition, on his return from the embassy of which we have spoke above.

A.R. 586.
Ant. C.
166.

I pass over several respective complaints of the Kings of Pergamus, Bithynia, and Cappadocia, as well as different embassies on both sides to Rome. I have spoke of them in the Antient History.

On the closing of the Census in the 588th year of Rome by the Censors Paulus Æmilius and Marcius Philippus, the citizens amounted to the number of three hundred and thirty seven thousand four hundred and fifty two.

Plut. in
Paul.

A new Sun-dial was erected in the place of the old one, which had been set up near the tribunal of harangues an hundred years before. I have spoke of it in a former volume.

Plin. vii.
60.

I refer speaking of some laws passed about this time against the luxury of the table for another place.

The facts which we have just related took up three years, 580, 587, 588, and part of 589.

TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

A. R. 589.
Ant. C.
163.

M'. JUVENCIUS THALNA.

The death of Antiochus Epiphanes, which happened the preceding year, made way for great troubles in Syria. Antiochus Eupator his son, only nine years of age, had succeeded him under the tuition of Lyfias. But Demetrius, the son of Seleucus Philopator, who was actually an hostage at Rome, pretended, that the crown was his right. He therefore demanded liberty

Polyb.
Legat.
107.
Justin.
xxxiv. 3.
Appian.
in Syr.

A. R. 589.
Ant. C.
163.

liberty of the Senate to return into Syria, and earnestly entreated it to aid him in ascending a throne, to which he was lawful heir, as the son of Seleucus the eldest brother of Epiphanes, who had reigned before. To induce the Senate to favour him, he represented that having been brought up at Rome from twelve years old (he was now three and twenty) he should always consider that city as his native country, the Senators as his fathers, and their sons as his brothers. The Senate had more regard to the interests of the Commonwealth than to the rights of Demetrius, and judged, it would * be more advantageous to the Romans, that there should be a minor King upon the throne of Syria, than a Prince like Demetrius, who might in the sequel become formidable to them. Equity and publick Faith are now seen to decline every day in the Senate. The Senators passed a decree to confirm Eupator, and sent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius into Syria, with the character of Embassadors, to regulate all things there conformably to the articles of the treaty made with Antiochus the great. Their view was to weaken that kingdom as much as possible.

A. R. 590.
Ant. C.
162.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.

Cic. Philipp. ix. 4.

When the Embassadors arrived, they found that the King had more ships and elephants than were allowed by the treaty. They caused the ships to be burnt and the elephants to be killed, that exceeded the number stipulated by the treaty, and made such regulations in all other things, as were most for the advantage of the Romans. This treatment seemed insupportable, and incensed the People against them. One called Leptinus was so much exasperated, that in his rage, he fell upon † Octavius, whilst he was in

* Senatu, tacito judicio, tutius apud pupillum, quàm apud eum; [Demetrium] regnum futurum arbitrate. JUSTIN.

† This Octavius had been Consul some time before, and was the first of his family who had obtained that honour. CIC. PHILIPP. IX.

the bath, and killed him. Lyfias, the regent of the kingdom, was suspected of having underhand shared in this affaffination. Ambaffadors were sent to Rome, to juftify the King, and proteft that he had not had any fhare in this fact. The Senate difmiffed them without any answer, not having fufficient proofs againft Lyfias, and on another fide not believing it confiftent with the dignity of the Roman name to accept a flight fatisfaction for fuch an infult from a perfon juftly fufpected. By their f Silence they referved the enquiry into and punifhment of the crime to themfelves.

A. R. 590.
Ant. C.
162.

Demetrius believed, that the difatisfaction of the Romans with Eupator, was a favourable conjuncture it was proper for him to improve, and he applied a fecond time to the Senate for permiffion to return into Syria. He took this ftep contrary to the opinion of moft of his friends, who advifed him to make his efcape without faying any thing. The event fhewed him, that they judged right. As the fame reafons of intereft, which the Senate had at firft for keeping him at Rome ftill fubfifted, he had the fame answer, and the grief to experience a fecond refusal. He then gave into the firft counfel of his friends; and Polybius the hiftorian, who was then at Rome, was one of thofe who preffed him moft to put it fecretly, but fuddenly, in execution. He hearkened to him. After having taken all his meafures, he quitted Rome under pretext of an hunting-match, repaired to Oftia, and embarked with a fmall train on board * a Carthaginian fhip bound to Tyre. All that the Senate could do, was fome days after to depute Ti. Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia, into Syria, to obferve what effect the return of Demetrius would produce there.

4. Octavius Cæfar, afterwards Emperor, fo well known under the name of Auguftus, was of the fame family, but of another branch, of which none had ever been Confuls. SUTTON.

* This fhip was going to carry the firft-fruits and revenues of Carthage to Tyre, according to cuftom.

A. R. 590.
Ant. C.
162.

Demetrius having landed at Tripoli in Syria, caused a report to be spread, that the Senate had sent him to take possession of his Dominions, and that they were fully resolved to support him in it. Eupator was immediately considered as irretrievably ruined, and every body abandoned him to go over to Demetrius. Eupator and Lyfias were seized by their own troops, and delivered up to their enemy, who put them to death. Thus Demetrius found himself established upon the throne without opposition, and with prodigious rapidity.

I shall say little in the sequel of the affairs of the East and of Egypt, except when such facts occur as are closely interwoven with the Roman History. For the rest, the reader will permit me to refer him to the Ancient History.

A. R. 592.
Ant. C.
160.

L. ANICIUS GALLUS.

M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

I have said something before of the Censorship of Paulus Æmilius, in which he acquired, as in all his other employments, great reputation. On quitting this office, he was taken ill of a distemper, that was at first believed very dangerous, but which afterwards seemed of a lingering kind. The physicians having advised him change of air, he embarked for Velia, where he remained a considerable time in a very solitary and retired house near the sea. The Romans soon lamented his absence, and on more than one occasion testified by their regret their impatience to see him again. He could not resist sentiments so grateful to him, and returned to Rome, which had not long the happiness to possess him. He died soon after, universally regretted by all orders of the citizens.

His funeral was solemnized with a pomp truly worthy of the merit and character of that great man. It did not consist in the sumptuous magnificence that usually attends this kind of ceremonies, but in the most sincere affection, true sorrow, and warm gratitude,

tude, expressed not only by the citizens, but the enemies themselves. The Ambassadors of Macedonia, who were then at Rome, asked as a favour to be permitted to carry the bier of Paulus Æmilius on their shoulders. Upon which Valerius Maximus makes this reflexion: "This mark of esteem will appear still more extraordinary, if we consider, that the forepart of this bier was adorned with paintings, wherein were represented the triumphs which the person whose memory they honoured had gained over Macedonia. * And indeed, what veneration and respect for Paulus Æmilius did not those express, who, through affection for him, did not conceive horror in carrying themselves through an whole people, the evidences of the defeats of their nation. This sight made his funeral seem less a pomp of that kind, than a sort of second triumph."

A. R. 592.
Ant. C.
160.

But what constitutes the most exalted praise of Paulus Æmilius, is the very moderate fortune he left at his death: The sum which he caused to be carried unto the publick treasury on the day of his triumph, amounted to about one million three hundred thousand pounds sterling; and it must indeed have been very considerable, as it sufficed to cause the taxes paid by the Roman citizens to be abolished. † Believing himself too happy in having enriched the Commonwealth, he did not let the least part of those immense spoils enter his own house, but contented himself with leaving it the remembrance of his name, and a glory that could only expire with the world. In order that his estate might be in a condition to pay his wife's dower, which amounted to about three thousand eight hundred pounds, it was necessary to sell part of

Offic. ii.
76.

* Quantum enim Paulo tribuerant, propter quem gentis suæ cladis indicia per ora vulgi ferre non exhorruerunt. Quod spectaculum funeri speciem alterius triumphus adiecit.

† At hic nihil domum suam præter memoriam nominis sempiternam detulit. CIRC.

Penates suos nulla ex parte locupletiores fecit: præclarè secum actum existimans, quòd ex illa victoria alii pecuniam, ipse gloriam occupasset. VAL. MAX. iv. 3.

A. R. 592. his slaves, moveables, and some farms : after which the
 Ant. C. remainder of his whole fortune was only about nine
 160. thousand three hundred and seventy-five pounds.

That Paulus Æmilius, descended from one of the most noble and antient houses of Rome, which had been rendered illustrious by the greatest offices and dignities, inherited only so moderate a fortune from his ancestors, reflects honour upon a long succession of them. But that in the midst of so many occasions of enriching himself by legitimate means, and in an age, wherein the antient maxims were almost universally despised, he should constantly keep within the bounds of a moderate patrimony, is a glory peculiar to himself. It certainly required an extraordinary force of soul and superiority of courage not to give way to the torrent, and to set himself above examples and discourse.

The antient taste of esteem and love of simplicity, and even poverty, was still supported in some families by good domestick examples, and by the extreme care taken not to ally with persons of different principles. It was in this spirit Paulus Æmilius chose Ælius Tubero for his son-in-law, * a man of the greatest worth, says Plutarch, and one who bore poverty more generously and more nobly than any other Roman. There were sixteen very near relations, all of the name and family of the Ælii, who had only one small house in the city, and another in the country, in which they all lived with their wives and a great number of small children. I have mentioned the same Tubero above in speaking of the silver cup, given him by his father-in-law Paulus Æmilius, which was the first piece of plate that ever entered the house of the Ælii.

The wife of this illustrious lover of poverty did not degenerate from the nobleness of his sentiments. Plutarch relates, that Æmilia, the daughter of a father twice Consul, and who had twice triumphed,

* *Ἄνδρ' ἄριστον, καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον Πρωτοῖαν περὶ χρονοῦ καὶ χρημάτων.*

was not ashamed of her husband's poverty, but admired the virtue in him, that made him consent to continue poor; that is, the motive which kept him in his state of poverty, by proscribing the means of making himself rich, which are usually far from honest, and full of injustice. For legitimate methods for a noble Roman to acquire riches, were very rare, to whom those of trade and manufacture were prohibited, and who could not, in reward of the services he rendered the State, expect either gratification, pension, or any of the advantages which officers in these days usually receive from the liberality of Kings. He had scarce any means of becoming rich, but by plundering the provinces, as most of the Magistrates and Generals had now done for some time. And it was this greatness of soul, this disinterestedness, these sentiments of honour, this preference avowedly given to virtue over riches, which this illustrious lady admired in her husband, and with great reason. As she was infinitely above the common and vulgar manner of thinking, through the veils of poverty and simplicity she distinguished the virtue which were the cause of them, and thought herself obliged to respect them still more from the very point which would perhaps have made him contemptible to the many. *Σαυμαλίσσα τὴν ἀρετὴν δι' ἧς πένους ἦν.* It was in the house of Paulus Æmilius, this illustrious lady had imbibed these great principles: and we are going to see, it is in consequence of the same principles, that Scipio Æmilianus her brother makes the most noble use of riches it is possible to imagine.

Greatness of soul can appear with lustre in more than one point of view, and is not confined within the bounds of camps and armies. Before we produce our Scipio upon this theatre, I believed it proper to shew him in his family and domestick life, especially with relation to the use of riches.

I have already observed, that Scipio, at hardly eighteen years of age, had devoted himself entirely to Polybius; and that he considered as the greatest good

A. R. 592. fortune of his life the occasion of forming himself by
 Ant. C. the counsels of such a friend, whose conversation he
 160. preferred to all the idle amusements which have usually so much attraction for young persons. What hopes may not be conceived of the future from such a disposition!

Polybius began by inspiring him with extreme aversion for the pleasures, equally dangerous and shameful, to which the Roman youth abandoned themselves, already almost universally depraved and corrupted by luxury, and the disorders which riches, and the new conquests had introduced at Rome. Scipio, during the first five years of being in so excellent a school, knew well how to improve from the lessons he received in it. In consequence, having had the courage to set himself above the bad example of the youth, he was from thenceforth considered as the model of prudence and wisdom.

Always directed by the wise counsels of Polybius, he added to innocence of manners generosity, noble disinterestedness, and the most illustrious use of riches, virtues so necessary to persons of high birth, and which Scipio carried to their supreme degree, as may be seen from some facts related by Polybius, which are highly worthy of admiration.

Æmilia *, the wife of the first Scipio Africanus, and mother of him, who had adopted the Scipio, of whom Polybius speaks in this place, had left a rich inheritance at her death to her grandson. This lady, besides diamonds, and other jewels, which form the ornaments of her sex and rank, had a great quantity of gold and silver plate used in sacrifices, a magnificent train, chariots, equipages, and a considerable number of slaves of both sexes: the whole in proportion to the wealth of the family she had married into. When she was dead, Scipio gave all these valuable things to his mother Papiria, who having been repudiated for many years by Paulus Æmilius, and

* She was the sister of P. Æmilius.

not having wherewith to support the splendor of her birth, led an obscure life, and did not appear either at the publick assemblies, or ceremonies of religion. When she was seen again with this pomp, so magnificent a liberality did Scipio abundance of honour, especially amongst the ladies, who were not silent upon the occasion, and in a city, wherein, says Polybius, people were not much disposed to part with their fortunes.

He was admired no less upon another occasion. He was obliged, in consequence of the inheritance which had fallen to him by the death of his grandmother, to pay at three different terms to the daughters of Scipio his grandfather by adoption, half their fortunes; this was to each five and twenty talents (five and twenty thousand crowns.) On the expiration of the first term, Scipio caused the whole sum to be paid into the banker's hands. Tiberius Gracchus and Scipio Nasica, who had married those two sisters, believing Scipio had made a mistake, went to him, and told him, that the law, which perhaps was unknown to him, gave him three years for paying that sum, at different payments. Young Scipio replied, that he was not ignorant of what the laws allowed: that the rigor of them might be followed amongst strangers; but with relations and friends it was proper to act with more simplicity and generosity; and he desired them to consent, that the whole sum might be paid them. They left him full of admiration of their kinsman's generosity, and * reproaching themselves for the narrowness of their sentiments in respect to interest, though they were the principal and most esteemed persons of the city. This liberality seemed the more admirable to them, says Polybius, as at Rome, far from being willing to pay fifty thousand crowns three years before the expiration of the term, nobody would have consented to pay one thousand before the day prefixed.

* Κατεργακότες τῆς οὐτῶν μικρολογίας.

A.R. 592.
Ant. C.
160.

It was in the same spirit, that two years after, on the death of Paulus Æmilius, he resigned to his brother Fabius, who was not so rich as he, all that should have fallen to him of his father's estate, which amounted to above sixty talents, (sixty thousand crowns) in order thereby to correct the inequality of fortune between the two brothers.

The same brother intending to exhibit a shew of gladiators after their father's death, in honour of his memory, as was the custom, and not being able to defray such an expence, which rose very high, Scipio contributed fifteen talents (fifteen thousand crowns) to defray at least half of it.

The magnificent presents, which Scipio had made his mother, devolved to him with entire right after that lady's death: and his sisters, according to the custom of those times, had no pretence to them. He would have thought it a dishonour to him to have taken back his gifts. In consequence he gave all he had given his mother to his sisters, which amounted to a very considerable sum, and acquired new applauses by this new proof of his greatness of soul, and tender regard for his family.

These different gifts, which in the whole amounted to very great sums, seem to derive greater value from the age at which he bestowed them (for he was very young) and still more from the noble and obliging manners with which he knew how to accompany them: to which may be added, the character of the times wherein he lived, when the avidity of money, excited by the frantick expences of luxury, that increased every day, began to become an almost universal way of thinking, which was considered as necessary in some sense.

The facts which I have just cited are so foreign to our manners, that there would be reason to apprehend they might be taken for the violent exaggeration of an historian prejudiced in favour of his hero; if every body did not know, that the prevailing character of Polybius, who relates them, was a great love of truth,
and

and an extreme remoteness from all flattery. In the passage itself, from which I have extracted this account, he has thought it necessary to use some precautions in respect to what he says of the virtuous actions and rare qualities of Scipio: and he observes, that as his writings were to be read by the Romans, who perfectly knew all things that related to that great man, he should not fail to be contradicted, if he ventured to advance any thing contrary to truth: an affront to which it is not probable an author who has any regard to his reputation would willingly expose himself.

A. R. 592.
Ant. C.
160.

In the midst of this decline of the Roman manners, we have seen two illustrious men shew extraordinary greatness of soul, but by ways quite different; Tubero, in the moderation of a simple life of poverty, embraced out of choice and taste: and Scipio Æmilianus, in a state of opulence, who distinguishes himself only by beneficence: the one by the generous contempt of riches, and the other by the wise and noble use of them. On which side is there most merit and glory? Does it require more force of mind and courage to stem the torrent of custom and example, which seems to authorize every * means of amassing money legitimate or not, not to be anxious in respect to the occasions of a numerous family, as Tubero's was, to despise a kind of reproach and contempt which the opinion of men attaches to poverty; than not to suffer either the head or the heart to be corrupted by the lurking poison of riches, to keep one's self free from vice and exempt from reproach with them, to know no other advantage in them but the power they afford of doing good to others; in a word, to make subservient to liberality, generosity, true magnificence, and the exercise of the greatest virtues, what is usually in a manner the natural aliment of luxury, pomp, idle expences, ridicule, esteem for one's self, and an insolent

* Rem facias, rem: Si possis, rectè; si non, quocumque modo rem.
HORAT.

A.R. 592.
Ant. C.
160. contempt for every one whatsoever, who is not rich and opulent, whatever merit they may have in other respects. This question is a fine subject for philosophers to descant upon; but it would carry us too far from the subject of our history.

Frein-
heim.
xlviii. 27.

I think it not improper to give a fact a place here, which like the rest I have just related, seems to flow from the spirit of simplicity, severity, and wisdom, that antiently prevailed at Rome. Scipio Nasica, the son of him who had been adjudged the worthiest man of Rome, shewed himself not degenerate from such a father from the earliest years of his life by singular probity and innocence of manners, and still recommended himself more by his profound knowledge of law in general, and by the talent of eloquence. He made use of the latter on an important occasion, in which he had great difficulties to surmount, and in which his success shewed how much authority his virtue had given him with the People. The Censors, whose term of office had lately expired (M. Valerius Messala, and C. Cassius Longinus) amongst other publick works, had ordered a theatre to be erected within the walls of the city, and the edifice was in great forwardness. Before this time the citizens used to stand at the games and shews exhibited at Rome. Nasica foresaw, that the convenience of sitting at ease would much augment the ardor of the people for the shews, which was already but too great, and that the licentiousness of the theatrical pieces, in the corruption of manners, which increased every day, would not fail to infect the whole city, and obliterate in the youth all sense of probity and shame. Full of zeal for the publick good, he represented to the Senate the inconveniences, and unhappy consequences of this new institution, with so much force and warmth, that the demolition of the building was immediately resolved and executed; and the Senate passed a decree, to prohibit for the future, that any seats or benches for sitting at the representation of games should be made within the city, or nearer than at the distance

of a thousand paces from it, it being their will, that the people should stand at them, in order that even * in the midst of their pleasures and diversions they might always retain something manly, and a vigour to indicate the Roman manners. † Paternulus has reason to place this regulation in the number of those, which did most honour to the Roman gravity and severity, particularly in an age which had already much degenerated from the antient manners.

A. R. 592.
Ant. C.
160.

Before we proceed to the important wars Rome had to sustain against the Carthaginians, Achæans and Viriathus, and the Numantines in Spain, and not to be obliged to break in upon the account of them by a mixture of foreign facts, often of little consequence, I proceed first to relate some events, which passed in Rome itself, and deserve not to be omitted: I shall afterwards say something of two wars of little importance against the Dalmatians and some states of Liguria: And lastly, I shall anticipate the relation of several commotions that happened in Macedonia, and join them all in the same point of view.

A F F A I R S O F R O M E.

ALL novelties are suspected. The arts of Greece, which began principally to be introduced at Rome since the defeat of Perseus, were at first very ill received there. In the year 591, the Senate passed a decree for banishing the philosophers and rhetoricians out of the city,

I have spoken elsewhere of the famous embassy of the Athenians, composed of three illustrious philosc-

A. R. 597.
Ant. Hist.

* Ut scilicet remissioni animorum juncta standi virilitas, propria Romanæ gentis nota esset. VAL. MAX. ii. 4.

† Cui [Cassio theatrum facienti]—eximia civitatis severitas & * Consul Scipio resistere. Quod ego inter clarissima publicæ † voluntatis argumenta posuerim. VELL. PATERC. i. 15.

* Nafica was not Consul then, his term having expired.

† This word seems an error: Gravitatis would perhaps be better.

phers,

phers, of which Carneades was the most famous. I have said, that the severity of Cato was alarmed by the great number of Roman youth, that ran after these three great masters; and the ardor with which they collected their discourses. He took care to expedite the affair for which they came to Rome, and to have an audience of leave soon given them, “left, said he, our youth should be corrupted by the subtleties of the Greeks, and abandon the simplicity of our antient manners.”

Respect for religion was carefully kept up in Rome; and I find two fine examples of it at the time of which we are speaking.

A. R. 589.
Cic. de
nat. Deor.
l. ii.

Gracchus, being Consul in the 589th year for the second time, presided in the assembly for the election of Consuls for the ensuing year, who were P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, and C. Marcius Figulus. These new Consuls entered upon office, drew lots for their provinces, and were already the one in Corsica and the other in Gaul, when Gracchus was seized with a scruple of conscience in respect to a certain ceremony he had omitted, the want of which rendered their election defective. He was then in Sardinia, and wrote to the college of Augurs to inform them of this fact: and the Augurs gave an account of it to the Senate. The affair seemed very serious, and orders were immediately dispatched to recal the two Consuls. They, who were both wise and prudent persons, obeyed with entire submission, and on their return to Rome they abdicated the Consulship, and were appointed successors. “Thus, says Cicero *, Gracchus chose rather to own a fault, which he might have concealed, than to leave the Commonwealth accountable to religion for a neglect punishable perhaps by the Gods: and the Consuls made no difficulty to divest themselves immediately of the principal dignity

* (Gracchus) peccatum suum quod celari posset confiteri maluit, quàm hære in Republica religionem: Consules summum imperium statim deponere, quàm id tenere punctum temporis contra religionem.

of the State, rather than keep it a moment contrary to the rules of religion." The moderation of these two illustrious citizens was not suffered to hurt them; and some years after the Consulship was conferred upon them both.

We only know the other fact, which it remains for A. R. 592. me to relate, from the epitome of the 47th book of Livy, which mentions no particulars of it. It only tells us, that Cn. Tremelius, Tribune of the People, having had a difference with M. Æmilius Lepidus, the great Pontiff, in which he had used opprobrious terms, had a fine laid upon him. Every body knows the enormous power of the Tribunes of the People, which even rendered their persons sacred and inviolable. Regard, however, for religion carried it against this magistracy, often terrible to the Consuls and the whole Senate.

WARS with the DALMATIANS, and some of the STATES of LIGURIA. Affairs of MACEDONIA.

THE Dalmatians, who had formerly been subject to Gentius, having incommoded their neighbours by incursions, the * Lissians, who had suffered much by them, and were in alliance with the Romans, complained of them to the Senate. Ambassadors were immediately made to set out, who were ill received by the Dalmatians. War having in consequence been declared, two Consuls were successively sent against those people. The first was C. Marcius Figulus, then A. R. 596. Consul for the second time, who made such a progress, that his successor Scipio Nasica, to whom a A. R. 597. second Consulship had been also given, had only to besiege Delminium the capital of the country, in order to terminate the war. He took that city, and demolished it: and it never was rebuilt afterwards. It is

* One of the principal cities of the Lissians was Tragurium, now called Trau in Dalmatia.

Corn.Nep. at this time only a very mean town, that still retains the same name, Delminio upon the Drin in Bosnia. What is most worthy of observation in all this war, in other respects but of little importance, is the victor's modesty, who refused the title of Imperator, which his soldiers gave him with acclamations, and made great difficulties to accept the triumph decreed him by the Senate. He did himself justice, for his actions were not very considerable. But who is it that does justice on the like occasions ?

A.R. 598. The year following the Romans for the first time passed the Alps in arms, but not to make war now against the Gauls, but against some people of Liguria by origin, though settled in the Gauls. Polybius calls them Oxybians and Deceates: they inhabited beyond the Var, along the sea-coasts, in the neighbourhood of the cities Nice, Antibes, and * Frejus. Those Barbarians attacked Nice and Antibes, colonies of the Massilienses, and rendered themselves formidable to Massilia itself. (*hod. Marseilles.*) An embassy sent by the Senate of Rome, upon the complaint of the Massilienses, was no better received by the Ligurians, than that of which we have spoke had been by the Dalmatians. In consequence it was necessary for the Consul Q. Opimius to march against them with an army, in order to reduce them to reason. The enterprise was not difficult to the Roman power. Opimius besieged the city, where the Ambassadors had been insulted, took it by storm, made the inhabitants slaves, and sent the principal authors of the insult in chains to Rome, to suffer the punishment their crime deserved. The Ligurians were more than once defeated and cut to pieces. The Consul, to secure the tranquillity of the Massilienses, gave them part of the conquered countries, and ordered that for the future those Barbarians should send hostages to Massilia, to be changed from time to time.

* Frejus was not yet in being, at least as a Roman colony, and with the name of Forum Julii. But I thought it necessary to determine the country of which I speak.

I come now to what regards Macedonia.

Fifteen or sixteen years after the defeat and death of Perseus, one Andriscus of Adramyttium, a city of Mysia in Asia Minor, a man of the meanest birth, gave himself out for the son of Perseus, assumed the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia, in hopes to cause himself to be acknowledged King by the inhabitants of the country. He had invented a story concerning his birth, which he gave out every where, pretending that he was the son of a concubine of Perseus. He had flattered himself that he should be believed on his own word, and that he should occasion great movements in Macedonia in his favour. When he found that every thing remained quiet there, he retired into Syria to the court of Demetrius Soter, whose sister had married Perseus. That Prince, who immediately knew the impostor, caused him to be seized, and sent him to Rome, in hopes, by that service, to acquire the protection of the Romans, for which at that time he had particular occasion.

The Romans had little regard to that impostor, who seemed to them to merit only contempt, so that small care was taken to guard or keep him in close confinement. He took advantage of the negligence of his keepers, and made his escape from Rome. Having found means to raise a considerable army amongst the Thracians, whom he had the address to bring into his views, he made himself master of Macedonia either by consent or force, and assumed the marks of Sovereignty.

SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

A. R. 604.
Ant. C.
148.

Andriscus, a man of nothing, who had been brought up, and lived hitherto in low life, and who just before had neither land nor fortune, encouraged by the rapidity of his first success, finding Macedonia too narrow for him, attacked Thessaly, and subjected a part of it to his power.

The

The affair then began to appear more serious to the Romans. They appointed Scipio Nasica to go in quality of Ambassador, or Commissioner, to put a stop to this defection in its birth, judging him highly fit for that employment. And indeed, he was perfectly master of the art of giving the necessary bent of mind, and of bringing people into his views by persuasion; and in case it was necessary to employ arms, he was very capable of forming a design with wisdom, and of executing it with valour. As soon as he arrived in Greece, and was perfectly informed in the affairs of Macedonia, he gave the Senate advice of them; and, without loss of time, made a tour through the cities of the allies, in order immediately to raise troops for the defence of Thessaly. The Achaians, who were still the most powerful people of Greece, supplied him with the greatest number, without regard to their past discontents. He soon deprived the false Philip of all the cities he had taken in Thessaly, drove out his garrisons, and repulsed himself into Macedonia.

However, upon Scipio's letters it was soon seen at Rome, that it was necessary to delay no longer sending a General with forces against this enemy. The Prætor P. Juventius Thalna had orders to pass the sea as soon as possible with an army. He set out directly. But considering Andriſcus as only a mock King, he did not conceive it necessary to take any great precautions against him, and he rashly engaged in a battle, wherein he lost his life with part of his army: the rest escaped only by favour of the night.

The victor, flushed by this good success, and believing his power firmly established, abandoned himself to his vicious inclinations with neither moderation nor reserve, as if to be really a King was to know no other law nor rule but his passions and caprice. He was covetous, proud, and cruel. Nothing was seen on all sides but oppressions, confiscations of estates, and murders. Taking advantage of the terror occasioned by the defeat of the Romans, he soon recovered all he had lost in Thessaly. An embassy which the Cartha-

Carthaginians, then actually attacked by the Romans, sent him with the promise of speedy support, extremely exalted his courage.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus, lately elected Prætor, had A.R. 605 succeeded Juventius, and was already near the enemy. Andriſcus had reſolved to advance to meet him : but he thought it neceſſary not to remove far from the ſea, and ſtopt at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman Prætor ſoon followed him thither. The two armies were in ſight of each other, and ſkirmiſhes paſſed every day. Andriſcus gained a conſiderable advantage in a ſmall engagement of the horſe. Succeſs uſually blinds men of little experience, and becomes fatal to them. Andriſcus believing himſelf ſuperior to the Romans, detached a great body of his troops to defend his conqueſts in Theſſaly. This was a groſs error; and Metellus, who let nothing eſcape him, did not fail to take advantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was defeated, and Andriſcus reduced to fly. He took refuge amongſt the Thracians, from whence he ſoon returned with a new army. He had the raſhneſs to venture a ſecond battle, which proved as unfortunate for him as the firſt. In both he loſt above five and twenty thouſand men.

Nothing was wanting to compleat the glory of the Roman General except ſeizing Andriſcus, who had taken refuge with a petty King of Thrace, to whoſe fidelity he abandoned himſelf. But the Thracians did not pique themſelves much upon faith, and made it give place to their intereſt. This Prince put his gueſt into the hands of Metellus, to avoid drawing upon him the anger and arms of the Romans. He was ſent to Rome.

Another Adventurer, who alſo called himſelf the Freinſh. ſon of Perſeus by the aſſumed name of Alexander, had the ſame fate as the firſt, except that Metellus could not take him : he retired into Dardania, where he kept himſelf concealed.

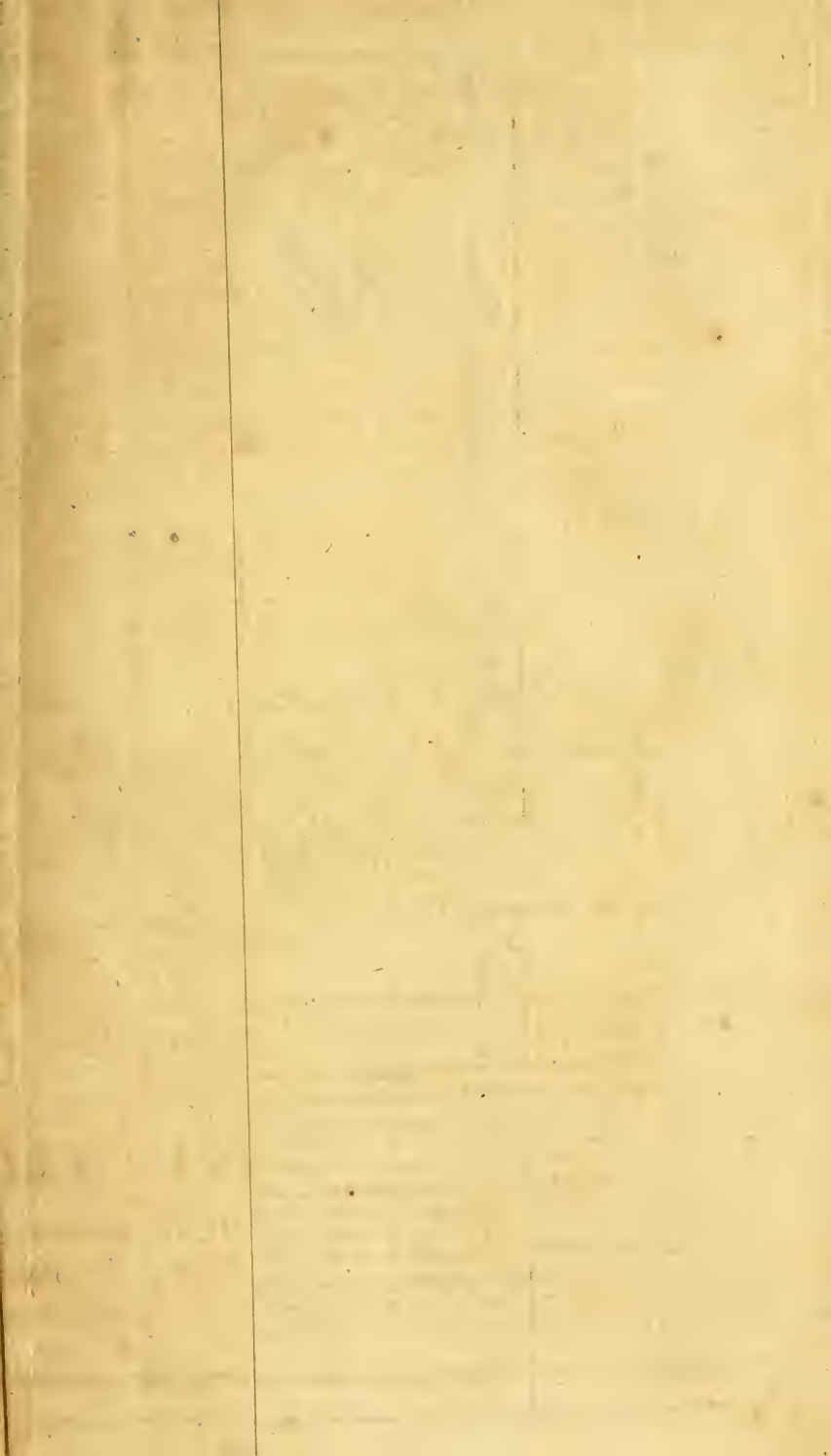
It was at this time that Macedonia, which had made so bad an use of the liberty granted it by the Romans, was reduced into a province, that is, treated like a conquered country.

A. R. 610. A third impostor appeared some years after, and gave himself out for the son of Perseus under the name of Philip. His pretended title was but of short duration. He was defeated and killed in Macedonia by Tremellius, who on that occasion received the surname of Scrofa, because in encouraging his soldiers, he had assured them, that he would disperse the enemy, *ut Scrofa porcos*.

S E C T. III.

THIRD PUNIC WAR.

Origin and occasion of the third Punic war. Rome shews little favour to the Carthaginians in their differences with Masinissa. War between Masinissa and the Carthaginians. Great anxiety and fear of the Carthaginians in respect to the Romans. Rome deliberates, whether war shall be declared against Carthage. It is resolved. Alarm of the Carthaginians. They send Deputies to Rome. Hard conditions proposed to them. They accept them. They send three hundred of their principal citizens as hostages. They deliver up all their arms. They are at length told that they must quit Carthage, which will be demolished. Grief and horror of the Deputies. Despair and fury of Carthage, when that news is made public there. Reflexion upon the conduct of the Romans. Generous efforts of Carthage to prepare for the siege. Invocation of the tutelar Gods of Carthage to quit it, and the form of devoting that city. Carthage besieged by the two Consuls. Scipio distinguishes himself above all the other officers. Death of Masinissa. The new Consul continues the siege with great languor. Scipio, who stands only for the Ædileship, is elected Consul, and charged with the war of Africa.





NUMIDIA

FOR M^r ROLLIN'S ROMAN HISTORY,

BY MONS^r D'ANVILLE,

Geographer in Ordinary to the King of France.

May 1742.

To give this Map some Advantage, every thing is included in it circumstantially, of which the Subject is capable, without regard to the Time or Occasion, for which it is placed in the Roman History. This Map will hardly be of more general Use.

The ancient Itineraries being peculiarly numerous in respect to this Country, almost the whole Detail of it is taken from them. In tracing, as we have done if Roman Ways, the Position of Places is settled, and cleared up; and the Reader is even enabled to judge of the weight which the use of the ancient Itineraries may have in the Construction of the Body of the Work. But besides the Advantage of a greater Particularity in this Map, the Author of it owns, that he has corrected the first in it in many Places.

It is hard to establish Limits to Numidia (at the time it had Kings) on the Side of Africa, or the Roman Province, as it is certain, that this State extended at that time into the Country, which afterwards made part of the Proconulidine, and Byzacena. Every body knows, that on the West, Numidia was bounded only by the River Mulucha; It was not till after the Time of Bocchus, the Son of Bocchus, and Brother of Boabd, Kings of Mauritania, that the Western Part of Numidia was called Mauritania, to which an additional Name, taken from Casar, its Capital has been added, to distinguish it from the ancient Mauritania, or Tingitana. The Numidians were formerly divided into two People, the MASSELY in the Eastern Part, who were the Subjects of Masinissa; and the MASSELY in the other, the Subjects of Syphax.

The Country called EGYPTIA in Ptolemy and Lacy, hath been since called DYACETUM.

Memoriae et Loto phagites
Girba I.

Africa. He arrives in Africa, and delivers Mancinus from great danger. He re-establishes discipline amongst the troops. He carries on the siege with vigour. Description of Carthage. Asdrubal's barbarous cruelty. Sea-fight. Scipio, during the winter, attacks and takes Nepheris, a place in the neighbourhood of Carthage. The siege continued. The city at length surrenders. Asdrubal also surrenders. His wife kills her children, and throws herself with them into the flames. Scipio's compassion on seeing the ruin of Carthage. Noble use which he makes of the spoils of that city. Joy which the news of the taking of Carthage occasions at Rome. Ten Commissioners sent into Africa. Destruction of Carthage. Scipio returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph. Carthage re-established.

THE third Punic war, less considerable than the two former in the number and greatness of battles, and its duration, which was but of four years, was much more so by its success and event, 'as it terminated in the total destruction of Carthage.

That city, after her last defeat, and the treaty of peace consequential of it, rightly perceived what she had to fear from the Romans, in whom she always observed much ill-will, whenever she applied to them in her differences with Masinissa.

In the preceding books I have related several Deputations sent from both sides, and several Commissions appointed by the Romans, who sent Senators to take cognizance of those disputes upon the spot, and to terminate them, without their ever passing any definitive sentence. It is evident, that Rome was not at all inclined either to satisfy the Carthaginians, or to do them justice; and that the quarrel was purposely spun out, to give Masinissa time to strengthen himself in his usurpations, and to weaken the enemy. Polyb. legat. 118.

Upon new complaints made by the Carthaginians, A. R. 595. a deputation was decreed at Rome to make farther Ant. C. enquiries upon the spot. Cato was in the number of 157. the Commissioners. When they arrived, they asked

the contending parties, whether they would abide by their arbitration. Masinissa readily consented. The Carthaginians replied, that they had a rule settled, to which they adhered, which was the treaty concluded by Scipio, and demanded to be tried without favour. This answer was a pretext to the Deputies for deciding nothing. They visited the whole country, which they found in a very good condition, especially the city of Carthage; and they were surprized to find it almost re-established in the same degree of greatness and power, as it was before its last defeat. On their return they did not fail to give the Senate an account of this, declaring, that Rome would never be safe as long as Carthage should subsist.

From thenceforth the Senators were extremely exasperated against Carthage: and if the war was not declared till a considerable length of time after, it is to be believed, that occasion and pretexts were rather wanting on the side of the Romans, than will. Masinissa found them a plausible motive both for attacking Carthage, and the promise of an easy victory. The thing happened as follows.

A division had taken place in Carthage, and the Numidian King had a powerful party there. The zealous Republicans having found a favourable opportunity, drove the heads of this party to the number of forty out of the city, and made people take an oath that they would never suffer the recalling of the exiles to be proposed. They retired to Masinissa, who sent two of his sons, Gulussa and Micipsa, to solicit their re-establishment. The gates of the city were shut against them, and Gulussa was even warmly pursued by Amilcar, one of the Generals of the Republick. This was a new subject of war: armies were raised on both sides, and a battle fought. This was in the Consulship of Quintius and Acilius.

T. QUINTIUS FLAMINIUS.

M'. ACILIUS BALBUS.

A.R. 602.

Ant. C.

150.

Scipio the younger, who afterwards ruined Carthage, was a spectator of this battle. He was come to Masinissa from Lucullus, who was making war in Spain, and under whom he served, to ask some elephants of him. During the whole battle he kept upon the top of an hill very near the place where it was fought. He was astonished to see Masinissa, then above fourscore years old, mounted on horseback without a saddle, according to the custom of the country, giving orders, and sustaining the rudest fatigues like a young officer. The battle was very obstinate, and continued from morning till night : but at length the Carthaginians gave way. Scipio afterwards said, that he had been present in many battles, but that none had given him so much pleasure as this, in which quiet and in cold blood he had seen above an hundred thousand men engage, and long dispute the victory. And as he was well read in Homer, he added, that before him only Jupiter and Neptune had enjoyed such a sight ; when one from the top of mount Ida, and the other from the highest eminence in Samothracia, had the pleasure of seeing a battle between the Greeks and Trojans. I cannot tell, whether the sight of an hundred thousand men cutting one another's throats gives a very sensible pleasure, or whether such a delight can subsist with the sense of humanity natural to us.

Hom. II.
viii. 51.
& xiii. 12.

The Carthaginians after the battle desired Scipio to terminate their disputes with Masinissa. He heard both sides. The first consented to cede the territory of Emporia, which had been the first subject of the quarrel, to pay down two hundred talents of silver, and to add to them eight hundred more at different terms, as should be agreed on. But Masinissa demanded the re-establishment of the exiles ; the Carthaginians not being willing to hear that proposal, they separated with-

A. R. 602. out concluding any thing. Scipio, after having paid
 Ant. C. his compliments, and thanks to Masinissa, set out with
 150. the elephants he came for.

Appian. The King, after the battle, kept the enemy's camp
 P. 40. invested upon an hill, where they could receive nei-
 ther provisions nor reinforcement. At this juncture
 arrived Deputies from Rome. They were ordered,
 in case Masinissa was worsted, to terminate the affair ;
 otherwise to decide nothing, and to give the King
 great hopes : and they followed the latter part of
 their instructions. In the mean time the famine in-
 creased every day in the camp of the Carthaginians ;
 and to increase their misfortune the plague joined it,
 and made terrible havock. Reduced to the last ex-
 tremity, they surrendered themselves, upon engaging
 to deliver up the deserters to Masinissa, to pay him
 five thousand talents of silver in the space of fifty
 years, and reinstate the exiles, notwithstanding the oath
 they had taken to the contrary. They were all made
 to pass under the yoke, and dismissed each with only a
 single habit. Gulussa, to revenge the bad treatment
 he had received, as we have said above, detached a
 body of cavalry after them, whose attacks they could
 neither avoid nor sustain, in their present disarmed
 condition. Thus of fifty-eight thousand men very
 few returned to Carthage.

About
 750,000
 So considerable a defeat gave great alarm there.
 They particularly apprehended, that the Romans,
 under pretext, that the Carthaginians, contrary to the
 conditions of the treaty, had taken arms against a
 King in alliance with Rome, should declare war a-
 gainst them : for they could not doubt the ill-will of
 the Roman Senate in respect to them. To prevent
 the effect of it, the Carthaginians declared by a de-
 cree of the Senate Asdrubal and Carthalon, one of
 whom had been General of the army, and the other
 had * commanded the auxiliary troops, guilty of trea-

* The foreign troops had commanders of their respective nations,
 all of whom were subordinate to a Carthaginian officer, called by
 Appian, Βισσαφιδου.

son, as being the authors of the war with the King of Numidia. They then sent deputies to Rome, to know what people thought and expected there from them. They were answered coldly, that it was for the Senate and People of Carthage to consider what satisfaction was due to the Romans. Not being able to get any other answer or explanation by a second embassy, they conceived great anxiety; and in extreme terror from the remembrance of past evils, they already thought they saw the enemy at their gates, and represented to themselves all the direful effects of a long siege, and of a city taken by storm.

In the mean time the Senate of Rome deliberated upon the resolution the Commonwealth should take; and the disputes between Cato and Scipio Nasica, who thought quite differently upon that subject, were renewed. The first, on his return from Africa, had already represented in the strongest terms, that he had found Carthage, not in the condition the Romans believed it, exhausted of men and riches, weak and reduced; but on the contrary, abounding with youth, with immense quantities of gold and silver, prodigious stores of all kinds of arms, and all the necessaries of war; and so proud and full of confidence with all these great preparations, that there was nothing so great, at which their hopes and ambition did not aspire. It is said, that after having held this discourse, he even threw figs of Africa, which he had in his breast, into the midst of the Senate; and that, on the Senators admiring their beauty and bigness, he told them: "It is but three days since those figs were gathered." "And that is the distance between us and the enemy." And afterwards, upon any affairs being deliberated upon in the Senate, Cato always added; "And I further conclude, that Carthage must be destroyed." Nasica, on the contrary, was for suffering it to subsist.

Both had their reasons to think as they did. Nasica, seeing that the people's insolence rose to such an height, as to make them commit all manner of excesses; that

A. R. 602.
Ant. C.
150.

Plut. in
vit. Caton.
p. 352.

Plin. xv.

18.

Plut. ibid.

A. R. 602.
Ant. C.
150.

swelled with pride in effect of their victories, they could no longer be kept within bounds by the Senate itself; and that their power had attained to such an height, that it was capable of forcing the Commonwealth into all the measures they should think fit to espouse: Nasica, I say, in this situation, was for leaving them the fear of Carthage as a curb, to moderate and check their audacity. For he thought, that the Carthaginians were too weak to subdue the Romans, and that they were also too strong to be despised by them. Cato on his side judged, that for a people become proud and insolent from prosperity, and whom unbounded licentiousness precipitated into all kinds of disorders, there was nothing more dangerous, than to leave them a State for a rival and enemy, hitherto always powerful, but from its misfortunes themselves become wiser and more cautious than ever, and not entirely to remove from them all cause of fear from without, when they had all possible means within of hurrying on to the last excesses.

Laying aside the laws of equity for a moment, I leave the reader to determine, which of these two great men judged most justly according to the rules of good policy and with respect to the interest of the State. Certain it is, as * all Historians have observed, that after the destruction of Carthage the change of conduct and government was evident at Rome: that vice no longer crept into it with fear, and in a manner by stealth, but barefaced and erect, and with surprizing rapidity possessed all orders of the Commonwealth: and that people abandoned themselves without reserve or bounds to luxury and pleasures, which did not fail, as that is inevitable to draw on the

* Ubi Carthago, æmula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiit—fortuna sævire ac miscere omnia cœpit. SALLUST. in bell. Catil.

Ante Carthaginem deletam populus & Senatus Rom. placidè modestèque inter se remp. tractabant.—Metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi formido illa mentibus decessit, ilicet ea quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. Id in bell. Jugurth.

ruin of the State. “ The † first Scipio, says Paterculus speaking of the Romans, had laid the foundations of their future greatness : the latter, by his conquests, opened the way for all kinds of vice and disorders. From the time that Carthage, which kept Rome in play by disputing empire with her, was entirely destroyed, her manners declined no longer slowly and by degrees, but suddenly and with precipitation.”

A. R. 601.
Ant. C.
150.

L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.

A. R. 603.
Ant. C.
149.

M'. MANILIUS.

However that were, it was resolved in the Senate to declare war against the Carthaginians : and the reasons, or pretexts given for it, were, that contrary to the tenor of the treaty they had kept ships, and marched an army out of their territories against a Prince in alliance with Rome, whose son they had treated with violence, at the time he had a Roman Ambassador with him.

An entirely lucky event, which happened whilst the affair of Carthage was in deliberation, no doubt contributed much to the taking of this resolution. This was the arrival of Deputies from Utica, who came to put their persons, fortunes, lands and city into the hands of the Romans. Nothing could have fallen out more opportunely. Utica was the second city of Africa, was very rich, and had a port equally spacious and commodious, which was but sixty stadia from Carthage, and might serve as a place of arms for attacking it. The Senate then hesitated no longer, and the war was declared in all the forms. The two Consuls were pressed to set out with all possible expedition, and secret orders were given them not to terminate the war without the destruction of Carthage. They

† *Potentia Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuria posterior aperuit. Quippe remoto Carthaginis metu, sublataque imperii æmula, non gradu, sed præcipiti cursu à virtute descitum, ad vitia transcursum.* VELL. PATERC. ii. 1.

departed

A. R. 603.
Ant. C.
149.

departed immediately, and stopped at Lilybæum in Sicily. The fleet was considerable, and had on board it fourscore thousand foot, and about four thousand horse.

Polyb.
Excerpt.
Legat.
972.

Carthage did not yet know what had been resolved at Rome. The answer the Deputies had brought back from thence, had only served to augment her trouble and anxiety. They had been told, that it was for the Carthaginians to consider, in what manner they could satisfy the Romans. They knew not how to act. At length they sent new Deputies; but with full powers to do all they should judge necessary, and even, in case circumstances seemed to require it, to declare, that the Carthaginians abandoned themselves and all they possessed to the discretion of the Romans. This, according to the force of the words, *se suaque eorum arbitrio permittere*, was making them absolute masters of their fate, and to confess themselves their vassals. They had never been capable in the former wars to resolve upon so mortifying a step: and however they expected no great success from it, because the people of Utica having been beforehand with them in doing the same, had deprived them of the merit of an early and voluntary submission.

On arriving at Rome, the Deputies were informed, that the war was declared and the army set out. They had therefore no time to deliberate, and surrendered their persons and all they possessed to the Romans. In consequence of this measure, they were answered, that because they had at length taken the right resolution, the Senate granted them liberty, the exercise of their own laws, all their territories, and all their other possessions, either as private persons or as a Republick; on condition, that in three days they should send three hundred hostages of the principal youth of their city to Lilybæum, and do what the Consuls should order them. Those last words gave them extreme anxiety: but the trouble they were in, made them incapable either of replying, or asking any explanation; and it had been to no manner of purpose.

They

They therefore set out for Carthage, and gave an account of their commission.

A. R. 603.
Ant. C.

All the articles of the treaty were grating: but the silence kept in respect to the cities, of which no mention was made amongst the things Rome consented to leave them, gave them extreme disquiet. However, nothing remained for them to do, but to obey. After their antient and recent losses, they were not in a condition to make head against such an enemy, who had not been able to resist Masinissa. Troops, provisions, ships, allies, were all wanting; and hope and courage more.

149.
Polyb.
Excerpt.
Legat.
972.

They did not think it proper to wait the expiration of the term of thirty days, which had been granted them; but to soften the enemy by the promptitude of their obedience, though they however could not flatter themselves with that effect, they made the hostages set out immediately. These were the flower and hope of the most noble families of Carthage. Never was sight more affecting. Nothing was heard but mournful cries, nor seen but tears. The whole city resounded with groans and lamentations. The mothers in particular, bathed in tears, tore their hair, beat their breasts, and in a manner frantick with grief and despair raised cries capable of moving the hardest hearts. It was still quite another thing at the fatal moment of separation, when having accompanied them to the ships they took their last leaves, not expecting ever to see them more, bathed them with their tears, never gave over embracing them, and pressed them in their arms without being able to consent to their departure; so that it was necessary to pull them away by force, which was more cruel to them than if their bowels had been torn out of their bodies. When they arrived in Sicily, the hostages were sent forwards to Rome, and the Consuls told the Deputies, that when they were at Utica, they would let them know the orders of the Commonwealth.

In the like conjunctures there is nothing more cruel than a terrible uncertainty, that without shewing any

ibid.
P. 375.
App. P.
any 44-45.

A. R. 605.
Ant. C.
149. any thing in particular, leaves all that can be apprehended obvious and impending. As soon as it was known, that the fleet was arrived at Utica, the Deputies repaired to the camp of the Romans, declaring, that they were come in the name of the State to receive their orders, which they were ready to obey in all things. The Consul Censorinus, who spoke, after having praised their good disposition and obedience, ordered them to deliver up to him without fraud or delay all their arms in general. They consented to this; but they desired him to reflect upon the condition to which he reduced them, at a time when Asdrubal, who was become their enemy only on account of their entire submission to the Romans, was almost at their gates with an army of twenty thousand men. They were answered, that Rome would provide for that.

App. 46. This order was executed immediately. A long train of carriages arrived in the camp, laden with all the preparations of war, that were in Carthage: two hundred thousand compleat suits of armour, an infinite number of spears and javelins, and two thousand machines for discharging stones and darts. The Deputies of Carthage followed, accompanied by the most venerable old men of the Senate and Priests of the Gods, to endeavour to excite the Romans to compassion at this critical moment, when their sentence was going to be passed, and their final doom determined. The Consul rose up for a moment on their arrival with some expressions of kindness and humanity; then suddenly resuming a grave and severe air he said: "I cannot but approve your readiness in executing the orders of the Senate. It has instructed me to declare to you, that its last pleasure is, that you should quit Carthage, which it has resolved to destroy; and that you remove your abode to whatever part of your territory you shall think fit, provided it be four-score stadia from the sea."

Ibid.
46^{verse} 53.

When the Consul had pronounced this terrible decree, nothing was heard but a lamentable cry amongst the

the Carthaginians. They were thunderstruck in a manner, and neither knew where they were, nor what they did. They rolled themselves in the dust, tearing their cloaths, and venting nothing but groans and sobs. After having recovered themselves a little, they extended their hands sometimes towards the Gods, and sometimes towards the Romans, imploring their mercy and justice to a people upon the point of being reduced to despair. But as they were entirely deaf to their prayers, they soon changed them into reproaches and imprecations, putting them in mind, that there were Gods, who were the avengers, as well as witnesses of crimes and perfidy. The Romans could not refrain from tears at so moving a sight; but their resolution was taken. The Deputies could not even prevail, that the execution of the order should be suspended, till they had applied again to the Roman Senate, in order to endeavour to have it revoked. They were obliged to set out and carry the answer to Carthage.

A. R. 603.
Ant. C.
149.

They were expected there with an impatience and dread not to be expressed. They had much difficulty to break through the throng that pressed around them to know the answer, which it was but too easy to read in their looks. When they arrived in the Senate, and had related the cruel order they had received, a general cry informed the people of their fate: and from that instant nothing was heard throughout the whole city but howling, despair, rage, and fury.

App. p.
53, 54.

Let us stop here a moment, to consider a little the conduct of the Romans. I cannot sufficiently regret, that the fragment of Polybius, in which this deputation is related, ends exactly in the most affecting part of his history; and I should set a much higher value on a short reflection of so judicious an author, than the long harangues, which Appian puts into the mouths of the Deputies, and of the Consul. Now I cannot believe, that Polybius, full of good sense, reason, and equity as he was, could on the occasion in question

have

A. R. 603. have approved the proceeding of the Romans. We
 Ant. C. do not, in my opinion, see their antient character in
 149. it : that greatness of soul, dignity, integrity, and declared abhorrence of mean stratagem, disguise, and imposture, that are not, as is somewhere said, of the Roman genius : *Minimè Romanis artibus*. Why were not the Carthaginians attacked with open force ? Why was it declared to them expressly by a treaty, which is a sacred thing, that liberty and the free exercise of their laws were granted them, and conditions understood, that entirely subvert both ? Why, under the shameful suppression of the word City in this treaty, is the perfidious design of destroying Carthage concealed, if as under the shadow of that equivocation they might do it with justice ? And lastly, wherefore is not the last declaration made them till after they have at different times taken from them their hostages and arms, that is, after having put it absolutely out of their power to refuse them any thing ? Is it not manifest, that Carthage, after so many defeats, all weakened and exhausted as she is, still makes the Romans tremble, and that they do not believe it in their power to subdue her by force of arms ? It is very dangerous to have power enough to commit injustice with impunity, and even to hope great advantages from it. The example of all empires shews us, that they seldom fail to act thus when they believe it for their interest.

Polyb. The great praise which Polybius gives the Achai-
 l. 13. P. ans, differs much from what we see in this place.
 671, 672. Those States, says he, far from employing stratagem and deceit with their allies for augmenting their power, did not even believe, that it was allowable to use them against their enemies, and deemed That only a solid and glorious victory which they gained sword in hand by courage and bravery. He owns, in the same place, that only faint traces of the antient generosity of their forefathers still remained amongst the Romans ; and he thinks himself obliged, says he, to make this remark, contrary to a principle become very common in his time, amongst persons in the administration of govern-

governments, that it is impossible to succeed in publick affairs, whether of war or peace, without sometimes employing fraud and deceit.

I return to my subject. The Consuls did not make haste to march against the Carthaginians, not imagining, that they had any thing to fear from a city disarmed. They took advantage of this delay to put themselves into a posture of defence: for it was unanimously resolved not to abandon the city. Asdrubal, who was at the head of twenty thousand men, was elected General without the walls; and Deputies were sent to him to desire him, in favour of his country, to forget the injustice done him through fear of the Romans. The command of the troops in the city were given to another Asdrubal, the grandson of Masinissa. Arms were then made with incredible expedition. The temples, palaces and publick places were changed into so many workshops. Men and women worked on them night and day. An hundred and forty shields, three hundred swords, five hundred pikes and javelins, a thousand arrows, and a great number of machines for discharging them, were made every day; and because materials were wanting to make cords, the women cut off their hair, which was an abundant supply.

Masinissa was discontented, that the Romans, after he had extremely weakened the power of the Carthaginians, came to take the advantage of his victory, without so much as imparting to him their design in any manner; which occasioned some coldness between them.

The Consuls however advanced towards the city to besiege it. It is to be believed, that the two ceremonies, of invoking the tutelary Gods of Carthage to quit it, and of devoting that city, were then performed. Macrobius informs us, that it was an antient custom amongst the Romans, but that it was kept very secret, when they besieged an enemy's city, to call out the Gods who resided in it; whether they believed, that they could not take the city without doing so, or, that

A. R. 603.
Ant. C.
149.

App. 55.
Strab. l. 17.
p. 833.

App. p. 55.

Macrobius.
Sat. iii. 9.

A. R. 603. that it seemed impious* to them to make the Gods
 Ant. C. prisoners. They had a form for this evocation, and
 149. another which they afterwards used for devoting the
 same city to the infernal Gods. Macrobius, who has
 preserved these two forms, affirms, that they were
 used in respect to Carthage. I proceed to repeat
 both in this place as curious and venerable monu-
 ments of the conviction the whole antient world were
 under, in respect to the power which the Divinity
 exercises over human things. The first is as follows.

“ O thou, God or Goddess, under whose protection
 “ the People and State of Carthage are, and you
 “ especially who have taken upon you to defend this
 “ city and its people, I beg, I conjure and ask it as a
 “ boon, that you will abandon the People and State
 “ of Carthage ; that you will quit all its places, tem-
 “ ples, sacrifices, and the city ; remove from it, and
 “ spread terror, dismay, and blindness of mind over
 “ this People and State. Abandoned by your antient
 “ votaries, come to Rome amidst my people : let all
 “ that belongs to us, places, temples, sacrifices, and
 “ city be more grateful to and please you more than
 “ your antient abode : be the defenders of me, the
 “ Roman People, and my soldiers in such manner,
 “ that we may perceive and acknowledge the effects
 “ of your protection. If you give ear to my prayer,
 “ I vow to erect temples to you, and to celebrate games
 “ in your honour.”

After having called out the Gods protectors of the
 enemy's city in this manner, the Romans devoted it
 to the infernal divinities by this second form, which,
 as well as the first, was to be repeated by the Ge-
 neral.

“ God Pluto, Jupiter the maleficent, *Dii manes*,
 “ or by whatever other names you are to be called,
 “ I ask that you will fill the whole city of Carthage
 “ and the army which I have in my thoughts, and
 “ which I hear, with disorder, terror and dismay ;
 “ that you will deprive those who shall carry arms
 “ defensive or offensive against our legions and army
 “ of

“ of the light of the day ; that you cause the army
 “ and enemies we attack to perish, men, cities, lands,
 “ with all those that inhabit in the places, regions,
 “ lands and cities, which belong to our enemies ;
 “ that you regard as devoted and consecrated to you,
 “ according to the most solemn forms of devoting,
 “ the army of the enemy, their cities, countries,
 “ which I conceive and understand, their heads and
 “ persons of all ages without difference amongst them.
 “ I give and devote them to you to be substituted in
 “ the place of me, of all confided to me, of my of-
 “ fice, of the Roman People, of our armies and legi-
 “ ons. And lastly, I ask of you that you will not
 “ suffer me, all confided to me, my command, our
 “ legions and army actually employed in this war, to
 “ experience any disgrace. If you do these things,
 “ so that I know, perceive, and discern, that my
 “ prayer has been heard, then whoever he be who ex-
 “ ecutes this vow, and in whatever manner he executes
 “ it, in sacrificing three black sheep to you, let it be
 “ deemed well executed. I pray and attest you, O
 “ Earth, who are the mother of mankind, and you
 “ also, O Jupiter !”

Superstition manifests itself in every part of these forms. We observe in them, that they acknowledged two kinds of divinities, the one beneficent, which they call out of the enemy’s city, and invite to inhabit and protect Rome ; the other malevolent, to whose wrath they devote the enemy, and from whom they ask nothing for themselves, but to receive no hurt from them. These tedious repetitions of the same words, and tiresome enumerations, this scrupulous attention not to leave any ambiguity, even to adding this clause, “ which I conceive and understand,” thereby to remove the obscurity, which might be found against their intent in their words ; all this is certainly very miserable. But through these clouds shines forth however the knowledge of the divinity, and a solemn confession of his power over all human events. This

A. R. 603. is good ore, which the alloy of superstition cannot de-
 Ant. C. prive of its value.
 149.

App. p.
 55—58.

All these imprecations were vented against Carthage; after which the Consuls attacked it with force of arms. They expected nothing less than to find a vigorous resistance, and the incredible boldness of the besieged astonished them extremely. Nothing passed but frequent and brisk sallies to repulse the besiegers, to burn the machines, and to harass the foragers. Censorinus attacked the city on one side, and Manilius on the other. Scipio, from thenceforth the terror of Carthage, served at that time as legionary tribune, and distinguished himself amongst all the officers as much by his prudence as valour. The Consuls committed many faults by not following his advice. That young officer brought off the troops from several steps, in which the imprudence of the Generals had engaged them. An illustrious Carthaginian, named Himilco Phameas, who commanded the enemy's cavalry, which incessantly harassed, and very much incommoded the foragers, did not dare to appear in the field, when it was Scipio's turn to sustain them; so well did he know how to keep his troops in order, and to post them advantageously. So great and general a reputation drew envy upon him at first: but as he behaved in all things with abundance of modesty and reserve, it soon changed into admiration; so that when the Senate sent Deputies into the camp to inquire into the State of the siege, the whole army joined in speaking in his favour; soldiers, officers, the Generals themselves, with one voice extolled the merit of young Scipio: so important is it, if I may use the expression, to soften the lustre of an infant glory by modest and obliging manners, and not to inflame jealousy by haughtiness and sufficiency of behaviour, the natural effects of which are to alarm self-love in others, and to render even merit and virtue odious.

SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

A. R. 604.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Ant. C.

148.

Masinissa seeing himself near death, desired Scipio to come to him, to assist him in making the proper dispositions in respect to the succession, and the partition it would be necessary to make of them amongst his children. Scipio on his arrival found him dead. That Prince at his death had commanded them to refer themselves in all things to Scipio's decision, whom he left them as a father and guardian. I defer speaking with more extent of Masinissa's family and posterity in this place, to avoid interrupting the history of Carthage too long.

The esteem Phameas had conceived for Scipio, in- App.p.65. duced him to quit the side of the Carthaginians to embrace that of the Romans. He surrendered himself to him with above two thousand horse, and was afterwards of great service to the besiegers.

Calpurnius Piso Consul, and L. Mancinus his Lieu- Ibid. 66. tenant, arrived in Africa in the beginning of the spring. The campaign passed without any considerable action. They were even worsted on several occasions, and carried on the siege of Carthage but slowly. The besieged, on the contrary, had resumed courage. Their troops increased considerably; and they spared no pains to engage the States and Kings in their quarrel. They sent as far as Macedonia to the false Philip, who pretended himself the son of Perseus, and was then actually at war with the Romans, exhorting him to push it on vigorously, and promising him supplies of money and ships.

This news occasioned disquiet at Rome. They be- Ibid. 68. gan to apprehend for the success of a war, which from day to day became more doubtful, and more important than had at first been imagined. The more they were dissatisfied with the slowness of the Generals and the worse they spoke of them, the more earnest was

A. R. 604.
Ant. C.
148.

every body to speak well of young Scipio, and to extol his extraordinary virtues : and Cato himself, who did not willingly praise, applied to him what Homer says of Tiresias compared with the other dead : “ He only is wise ; the rest are mere shadows.” Ὁ μὲν πᾶσι

Hom. Od.
l. x. v.
495.

ἔρχεται τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἄισοι σῆσι. He came to Rome to demand the Edileship. As soon as he appeared in the assembly, his name, aspect, reputation, and the general belief, that the Gods had destined him to terminate the third Punic war, as the first Scipio his grand-father by adoption had terminated the second ; all this extremely struck the people ; and though the thing was contrary to the laws, and the Old for that reason opposed it, instead of the Edileship which he asked, the people gave him the Consulship, setting the laws aside for this year, and resolved, that he should have Africa for his province without drawing lots, as was the custom, and as Drusus his Colleague demanded.

A. R. 605.
Ant. C.
147.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

C. LIVIUS DRUSUS.

App. p. 69.

As soon as Scipio had compleated his recruits, he set out for Sicily, and soon arrived at Utica. This was very opportunely for Mancinus Piso's Lieutenant, who had rashly engaged himself in a post, where the enemy kept him shut up, and where they were going to cut him to pieces the next morning, if the new Consul, who was informed of his danger on his arrival, had not made his troops re-embark in the night, and hastened to his aid.

Ibid. 70.

Scipio's first care on his arrival was to re-establish discipline amongst the troops, which he found entirely ruined. They had neither order, subordination, nor obedience. Their sole care was to plunder, eat, drink and divert themselves. He made all the useless mouths quit the camp, regulated the species of provisions the sutlers were to bring in, and would suffer none but what were simple and military ; industriously

triously banishing all that tended to luxury and voluptuousness. A. R. 605.
Ant. C.
147.

When he had well established this reformation, which cost him neither much time nor pains, because he set others the example in his own person, he believed he had soldiers, and applied himself seriously to the siege. Having made his troops provide themselves with axes, cleavers, and ladders, he led them in the night with great silence to a part of the city called Mægara, and having ordered great cries to be raised on a sudden, he attacked it with the utmost vigour. The enemy, who did not expect to be attacked in the night, were at first very much terrified. However, they defended themselves with great courage, and Scipio could not scale the walls. But having observed a tower, which they had abandoned, he sent a detachment of bold and determinate soldiers thither, who by the help of pontons passed from the tower to the walls, entered Mægara, and broke down the gates. Scipio entered that moment, drove the enemy from that post, who, surprized and confounded by this unforeseen attack, and believing the whole city taken, fled to the Citadel, and were followed by the troops also that incamped without the city. The latter abandoned their camp to the Romans, and thought it necessary to provide for their security.

Before I go on, it is proper that I should give some idea in this place of the situation and bigness of Carthage, which in the beginning of the war with the Romans had seven hundred thousand inhabitants. It was situated at the bottom of a gulf, surrounded by the sea in the form of a peninsula, of which the neck, that is the Isthmus, which joined it to the continent, was a league and a quarter (five and twenty stadia) in breadth. The peninsula was eighteen leagues in circumference [360 stadia.] On the western side projected a long point of land, almost an hundred and four yards [half a stadium,] broad, which running into the sea separated it from the morass, and was

App. p.
56, 57.
Strab. l. 17.
p. 832.

A. R. 605.
Ant. C.
147.

closed on all sides, by rocks and a single wall. On the south side next the continent, where the citadel called Byrsa stood, the city was inclosed within three walls thirty cubits high without the parapets and towers, that flanked it all around at equal distances, an hundred and sixty yards from each other. Each tower had four stories: the walls had but two; they were vaulted, and at bottom there were stables for three hundred elephants, and the things necessary for their subsistence, and others over them for four thousand horses, with magazines for their provender. There were also places for lodging twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse. To conclude, all these military preparations were contained in the walls only. There was but one part of the city, where the walls were weak and low: this was a neglected angle, which began at the point of land, of which we have spoke, and ran on quite to the ports, that were on the western side. There were two, which communicated with each other, but which had but one entrance seventy feet broad, that was closed with chains. The first was for the merchants; here were many and different places of abode for the seamen. The other was the interior port for the ships of war, in the midst of which was an * isle, called Cothon, that as well as the port had great quays on its sides. Here were separate covered docks for laying up two hundred and twenty ships, with magazines over them; where all things necessary for arming and fitting out ships were kept. The entrance of each of these docks intended for laying up ships was adorned with two marble Ionic pillars: so that the port as well as the isle represented on the two sides two magnificent galleries. In this isle was the admiral's palace; and as it fronted the entrance of the port, he could from thence discover all that passed in the main sea, whilst nothing could be

* According to Sam. Bochartus, the Cothon was not an isle, but the port itself so cut by human art.

seen from thence, that was done within the port. In like manner the merchants had no view of the ships of war, the two ports being separated by a double wall; and in each there was a particular gate for entering the city without passing through the other port. Thus we can distinguish three parts in Carthage. The port, which was double, sometimes called Cothon, from the little isle of that name: the citadel, called Byrsa: and the city properly so called, where the inhabitants lived, which surrounded the citadel, and was called Mægara.

A. R. 605.
Ant. C.
147.

Boch. in
Phal. p.
512.

Asdrubal General of the Carthaginians, seeing at day-break the shameful defeat of his troops, to revenge himself on the Romans, and at the same time to deprive the inhabitants of all hopes of accommodation and pardon, formed and executed a project worthy of him. It was this Asdrubal, whom we have seen at first proscribed by his country, and then appointed by them to command the troops that were without the city, whilst another Asdrubal, grandson of Masinissa, by his mother, was to command in Carthage. This first Asdrubal, a violent and ambitious man, and flushed besides with some first successes against the Romans, could not suffer that the command should be divided between him and a colleague: and to unite it entirely in his own person, and deliver himself from a disagreeable rival, he suborned informers to accuse him of holding intelligence with his uncle Gullussa; and having caused him to be killed in the public place, he in consequence remained in the sole possession of the command both within and without Carthage.

App. p. 72.

On the occasion of which we are speaking, out of a barbarous and vile spirit of revenge, he caused all the Roman prisoners he had to be brought to the walls, so as to be near enough to be seen by the whole army. He there made them suffer every kind of torment that could be inflicted. Some had their eyes pulled out; some their noses, ears and fingers

A. R. 605. cut off; others had their skins torn off their bodies
 Ant. C. with iron combs: and after they had suffered these
 147. torments, they were thrown down from the top of the walls. So cruel a treatment gave the Carthaginians horror, far from augmenting their courage: but he did not spare even them, and caused many of the Senators who ventured to oppose his tyranny, to be massacred.

App. p. 73. Scipio, seeing himself absolute master of the Isthmus, burnt the camp, which the enemy had abandoned, and pitched a new one for his troops. It was of a square form, surrounded with great and deep intrenchments, armed with good palisades. On the side of the Carthaginians he raised a wall twelve feet high, and flanked from space to space with towers and redoubts, and upon the middle tower another very high one of wood was erected, from whence all that passed in the city was seen. This wall occupied the whole breadth of the Isthmus, that is twenty-five stadia. The enemy, who were within the reach of darts, used their utmost endeavours to prevent this work: but as the whole army were employed in it night and day without intermission, it was compleated in twenty days. Scipio had a double advantage in it: first, because his troops were more securely and commodiously quartered; and secondly, because by this means he cut off the enemy's provisions, to whom none could be brought now, except by sea, which could not be done without great difficulties, as well because the sea on that side is often tempestuous, as from the strict guard kept by the Roman fleet. And this was one of the principal causes of the famine, which was soon felt in the city. Besides which Asdrubal distributed the corn that he received only to thirty thousand men, who served under him, little regarding the rest of the multitude.

Ibid. p. 74. In order still to cut off their provisions more, Scipio undertook to shut up the entrance of the port by

by a mole, which began from the point of land, of which we have spoke that was at no great distance from the port. The enterprize at first seemed senseless to the besieged, and they derided the workmen. But, when they saw, that the work advanced every day in an extraordinary manner, they began to fear in earnest, and thought of taking measures to render it useless. Women and children, every body set to work; but with so much secrecy, that Scipio could learn nothing of it by the prisoners of war, who only told him, that abundance of noise was heard in the port, but without its being known what was doing there. At length every thing being ready, the Carthaginians suddenly opened a new entrance on another side of the port, and appeared at sea with a sufficiently numerous fleet, which they had just built with the old materials, that remained in the magazines. It is agreed, that if they had attacked the Roman fleet immediately, they would infallibly have taken it; because, as nothing of this kind was expected, and every body was employed elsewhere, they would have found it without rowers, soldiers, or officers. But, says the historian, Carthage was doomed to fall. They contented themselves then with making a kind of insult and bravado upon the Romans, and returned into the port.

Two days after they made their ships advance to fight in earnest, and found the enemy in good order. This battle was to decide the fate of both parties. It was long and obstinate, the forces on both sides making extraordinary efforts, the one to save their country reduced to extremities, and the other to compleat their victory. In the battle the brigantines of the Carthaginians running along under the sides of the great ships of the Romans, broke sometimes their poops, sometimes their rudders, and sometimes the oars; and if they were pressed, they retired with surprising agility to return again immediately to the charge. At length the two fleets having fought with equal

A. R. 605.
Ant. C.
147.

App. P. 75.

A. R. 605
 Ant. C.
 147.

equal advantage till sun-set, the Carthaginians thought proper to retire, not reckoning themselves defeated, but to renew the fight next day. Part of their ships not being able to enter the port soon enough, because its entrance was too narrow, retired to the front of a very spacious terrace, which had been made against the walls for the landing of merchandize, on the side of which a little rampart had been raised during this war, lest the enemy should seize it. The battle began again there, with still more vigour than ever, and continued till very late in the night. The Carthaginians suffered very much in it, and their ships that remained took refuge in the city. The next morning early Scipio attacked the terrace, and having with great difficulty made himself master of it, he posted and fortified himself there, and caused a brick wall to be made on the side of the city very near the walls, and of the same height. When it was finished, he made four thousand men mount it, with orders to keep a perpetual discharge of darts and arrows upon the enemy, who were much incommoded by them, because the two walls being of equal height, they scarce threw a single dart without effect. Thus ended this campaign.

App. p. 78. During the winter-quarters, Scipio employed himself in getting rid of the troops without the place, which very much incommoded his convoys, and facilitated those sent to the besieged. In order to this he attacked a neighbouring place, called Nepheris, which served them for a retreat. In a last action there perished on the enemy's side above seventy thousand men, as well soldiers as armed peasants, and the place was carried with great difficulty after a siege of two and twenty days. The carrying of this place was followed with the surrender of almost all the towns of Africa, and very much contributed to the taking of Carthage itself, into which it was from thenceforth almost impossible to introduce provisions.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

A. R. 606.
Ant. C.
146.

L. MUMMIUS.

In the beginning of the spring Scipio at the same time attacked the port called Cothon and the citadel. Having made himself master of the wall, which surrounded that port, he threw himself into the great place of the city, which was near it, from whence there were ascents to the citadel by three streets on a declivity with a great number of houses on each side of them, from the tops of which a continual discharge of darts was made upon the Romans, who were forced, before they could advance, to force the nearest houses, and to post themselves upon them, in order from thence to drive away those who fought from those adjacent. The battle on the tops and at the bottom of these houses continued six days, with dreadful slaughter. To clear the streets and open a way for the troops, the bodies of the inhabitants, who had been either killed or thrown from the tops of the houses, were drawn away with hooks, and thrown into the fossés, most of them still alive and respiring. In this labour, which took up six days and nights, the soldiers were relieved from time to time by others, who were fresh, without which it had been impossible to have sustained the fatigue. During that whole time Scipio was the only person who did not sleep, giving his orders on all sides, and scarce allowing himself time to take any nourishment.

The besieged were reduced to extremities: and on the seventh day some appeared in the habits of suppliants, who asked no other conditions, than that the Romans would be pleased to grant all those their lives, who should quit the citadel; which was granted them, the deserters only excepted. Fifty thousand men and women left it, who were conducted into fields under a good guard. The deserters, who were about nine hundred in number, seeing there was no quarter for them

App. p. 79.

Ibid. p. 81.

A. R. 606. them to hope, intrenched themselves in the temple of
 Ant. C. Æsculapius with Asdrubal, his wife and two children;
 246. where, though their number was but small, they
 however defended themselves for some time, because
 the place was high, situated on rocks, and had an
 ascent of sixty steps. But at length, pressed by hun-
 ger, and exhausted by fatigue, they shut themselves
 up in the temple itself, resolved not to quit it but
 with life.

Asdrubal however, with design to save himself, se-
 cretly went down to Scipio, with an olive-branch in
 his hand, and threw himself at his feet. Scipio caused
 him to be shewn immediately to the deserters, who,
 transported with fury and rage, vented a thousand
 curses against him, and set fire to the temple. Whilst
 they were kindling it, it is said that Asdrubal's wife
 adorned herself as well as she could, and placing her-
 self with her two children in the sight of Scipio,
 spoke to him with a loud voice to this effect: " I
 " make no imprecations against thee, Roman: for
 " thou only usest the rights of war. But may the
 " Gods of Carthage, and you in concert with them,
 " punish the perfidious wretch, who has betrayed his
 " country, Gods, wife and children, as he deserves."
 Then addressing herself to Asdrubal: " Vile, perfid-
 " ious, basest of men, this fire will soon consume
 " me and my children; as for thee, unworthy Ge-
 " neral of Carthage, go and adorn the triumph of
 " thy conqueror, and suffer in the sight of Rome the
 " punishment due to thy crimes." After these re-
 proaches she cut her childrens throats and threw them
 into the fire, and then leaped into it herself.

App. p. 82. As to Scipio, on seeing this city, which had been
 so flourishing during seven hundred years, equal to
 the greatest empires in extent of dominion by sea and
 land, by its numerous armies, fleets, elephants, and
 riches; superior even to other nations in valour and
 greatness of soul, which, entirely deprived as it was
 both of arms and ships, had enabled it to sustain
 during,

during three whole years the miseries of a siege; seeing, I say, this city at this time absolutely ruined, we are told, that he could not refuse tears to the unhappy fate of Carthage. He considered that cities, nations, and empires, are subject to revolutions, as well as private persons; that the same disgrace had happened to Troy, of old so powerful, and afterwards to the Assyrians, Medes and Persians, whose dominion was of such great extent; and very lately again to the Macedonians, whose empire had made so glorious a figure. Full of these sad ideas, he repeated two verses of Homer's, the sense of which is, * "That

A. R. 605.
Ant. C.
146.

Iliad. l. vi.

"the time should come, when the sacred city of Troy, and the warlike Priam and his people, should be destroyed," implying by those verses the future fate of Rome, as he owed to Polybius, who desired him to explain his thought to him.

If he had been enlightened by the rays of truth, he would have known what the Scripture teaches us, "Because of unrighteous dealings, injuries, and riches got by deceit, the kingdom is transferred from one people to another." Carthage is destroyed, because avarice, perfidy and cruelty had been carried there to their utmost height. Rome will have the same fate, when its luxury, ambition, pride and unjust usurpations, covered with the false outside of virtue and justice, shall have forced the supreme Master and Dispenser of empires to exhibit a great example to the universe in its fall.

Ecclesiastic. x. 3.

Carthage having been taken in this manner, Scipio gave the plunder of it to his soldiers during some days, except the gold, silver, statues, and other offerings found in the temples. He afterwards distributed many military rewards amongst them, as well as to the officers, two of whom had distinguished themselves in particular. These were Ti. Gracchus,

* Ἐσσεταὶ ἡμᾶρ ὅταν ποτ' ἐλαλή* Ἰλῶ* Ἴρι
καὶ Πρίαμ* καὶ λαὸς ἑὺμμελὲς Πρίαμοιο.

A. R. 606. and C. Fannius, who had first mounted the walls.
 Ant. C. 146. He caused a very swift sailing ship to be adorned with the spoils of the enemy, and sent it to Rome to carry the news of the victory.

At the same time he let the inhabitants of Sicily know, that they might come, and carry away the paintings and statues, which the Carthaginians had taken from them in the preceding wars. And when he restored to the people of Agrigentum * the famous bull of Phalaris, he told them, that bull, which was at once a monument of the cruelty of their ancient Kings, and of the lenity of their new masters, ought to teach them, whether it were more for their advantage to be under the yoke of the Sicilians than the government of the Roman People.

Having caused part of the spoils found in Carthage to be sold, he strictly prohibited his own people to take, or buy any part of them; so careful was he to remove the least suspicion of interest from himself and his family.

When the news of the taking of Carthage arrived at Rome, the people abandoned themselves immoderately to excess of joy, as if the publick tranquillity had been secure only from that moment. They called to mind all the calamities they had suffered from the Carthaginians in Sicily, Spain, and even in Italy during sixteen years successively, in which time Hannibal had plundered four hundred cities, killed on several occasions three hundred thousand men, and reduced Rome itself to the last extremity. On considering these misfortunes, they asked each other, whether it was really true that Carthage was destroyed. All the orders emulated each other in expressing their gratitude to the Gods, and the city, during several days,

* Quem taurum Scipio cum redderet Agrigentinis, dixisse dicitur, æquum esse illos cogitare utrum esset Siculis utilius, suisne servire, an populo R. obtemperare, cum idem monumentum & domesticæ crudelitatis, & nostræ mansuetudinis haberent. Cic. in Verr. l. iv. n. 78.

was solely engrossed by solemn sacrifices, publick prayers, games and shews.

A. R. 606.
Ant. C.
146.
App. p. 84.

After the duties of religion were discharged, the Senate sent ten Commissioners into Africa, to regulate its condition and fate for the time to come in conjunction with Scipio. Their first care was to cause all that remained of Carthage to be demolished.

* Rome, already mistress of almost the whole world, did not believe herself safe, whilst only the name of Carthage subsisted: so long did inveterate hatred, in effect of long and cruel wars, endure beyond the time there was reason to fear; and it did not cease to subsist, till the object that excited it, ceased to be. It was forbidden in the name of the Roman People to inhabit it from thenceforth, with horrible imprecations against those, who, contrary to this prohibition, should attempt to rebuild any part of it, and especially Byrsa and Mægara. They probably excepted the port, as it might be of use to themselves. For the rest, every body was allowed to enter it; † Scipio not being sorry that the miserable ruins of a place should be seen, which had disputed empire with Rome. They further decreed, that the cities, which in this war had adhered to the enemy, should be demolished, and their territories given to the allies of the Roman People; and they in particular rewarded the people of Utica with the whole country between Carthage and Hippona. They made all the rest tributary, and a province of the Roman empire, into which a Prætor was annually sent. This was called “ the province of Africa.

When every thing was settled, Scipio returned to Rome, which he entered in triumph. Nothing so

Ibid.

* Neque se Roma, jam terrarum orbe superato, securam speravit fore, si nomen usquam maneret Carthaginiæ. Adeo odium certaminibus ortum, ultra metum durat, & ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante invisum esse desinit, quam esse desit. VELL. PATERC. lib. 1. cap. 12.

† Ut ipse locus eorum, qui cum hac urbe de imperio certarunt, vestigia calamitatis ostenderet. CIC. Agrar. 2. n. 50.

splen-

A.R. 606. splendid had ever been seen before : for nothing was
 Ant. C. 146. seen but statues, rarities, and curious paintings of in-
 estimable value, which the Carthaginians during a
 long series of years, had brought into Africa ; with-
 out including the money carried into the publick trea-
 sury, which amounted to very great sums. By this
 important conquest Scipio made the surname of Afri-
 canus properly his own, which he already had by
 right of inheritance.

App.p.85. Whatever precautions had been taken to prevent
 Plut. in any thoughts of reinstating Carthage, less than thirty
 vit. Grac. years after one of the Gracchi, to make his court to
 p. 839. the people, undertook to replant it, and carried a co-
 lony thither, consisting of six thousand citizens. The
 Senate being informed that many bad omens had
 spread terror, when the workmen were laying out the
 walls, and carrying on the foundations of the new city,
 they were for putting a stop to the design : but the
 tribune, who was not very delicate and scrupulous in
 point of religion, hastened on the execution of it, not-
 withstanding all those sinister omens, and compleated
 it in five days. This was the first Roman colony sent
 out of Italy.

But the unhappy fate of the founder of this colony,
 prevented it from sustaining itself. It must have con-
 sisted only of a kind of cottages * when Marius in his
 flight into Africa, retired thither. For it is said,
 that he led a life of poverty amongst the ruins of Car-
 thage, consoling himself with the sight of so amazing
 a prospect, and being in some sense capable by his
 condition of serving as a consolation to that unfortu-
 nate city.

Appian relates, that Julius Cæsar, after the death
 of Pompey, having entered Africa, dreamt, that a
 great army with tears called upon him ; and that

* Marius cursum in Africam direxit, inopemque vitam in tugurio
 ruinarum Carthagenensium toleravit : cum Marius aspiciens Cartha-
 ginem, ille intuens Marium, alter alteri possent esse solatio. VELL.
 PATERC. lib. 2. c. 19.

moved by this dream he had wrote down in his table-books the design he had formed in consequence to rebuild Carthage and Corinth: but being killed soon after by the conspirators, Augustus Cæsar, his son by adoption, who found this memorandum amongst his papers, caused the city of Carthage to be rebuilt near the place where the old one stood, to avoid incurring the curses which had been denounced, when it was demolished, against whomsoever should presume to rebuild it.

Strabo and Plutarch however ascribe the rebuilding of Carthage and Corinth to Julius Cæsar: and Plutarch even observes as a singularity in respect to those two cities, that as it had before happened to them to be taken and destroyed at the same time, both had also at the same time been rebuilt and re-peopled. The rebuilding of Carthage had probably been begun by Julius Cæsar. But his death and the civil wars that followed it, having retarded the execution, Augustus put the last hand to it. However that be, Strabo affirms, that Carthage was as much peopled in his time as any other city of Africa; and was always the capital of all Africa under the succeeding Emperors. It subsisted with splendor during about seven hundred years more: but it was at length entirely destroyed by the Saracens in the beginning of the seventh century.

I shall speak in the sequel of the character and great qualities of the second Scipio Africanus. I now think it necessary to treat of the war of Achaia, and the ruin of Corinth, which agrees in time with that of Carthage.

A. R. 606.
Ant. C.
146.

Strab. l.
xvii. p.
833.
Plut. in
Cæs. p. 738.

S E C T. IV.

Troubles excited in Achaia. The Achaian League declares war against Lacedæmon. Boætia joins the Achaians. Metellus defeats the army of the Achaians. He makes himself master of Thebes and Megara. The Consul Mummius arrives before Corinth. The besieged rashly give battle, and are defeated. The city of Corinth is taken, burnt, and entirely destroyed. Achaia is reduced into a Roman province. Great plunder taken in Corinth. Paintings of great value. Disinterestedness of Mummius. That Consul's simplicity. Polybius's zeal for the honour of Philopæmen. His disinterestedness. He establishes order and tranquillity in Achaia. Triumphs of Metellus and Mummius.

A. R. 605.
Ant. C.
147.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
C. LIVIUS DRUSUS.

Pausan. in
Achaic. p.
411—428.
Polyb.
Legat.
143, 144.
Id. in Ex-
cerpt. de
virt. & vit.
p. 181—
189.
Justin.
l. 34. c. 1.
Flor. l. 2.
c. 16.

GREAT troubles, excited by the rashness and avarice of those who held the first offices, had arose in the Achaian League. Reason, prudence, and equity, no longer formed the resolutions of their assemblies; but the interest and passions of the Magistrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achaian League and Sparta had sent Ambassadors to Rome upon an affair in dispute between them. Damocritus in the mean time, (the principal Magistrate of the Achaians) had caused war to be declared against Sparta. Metellus, who, after having conquered the false Philip Andriscus, was then actually regulating the affairs of Macedonia, caused Damocritus to be desired to suspend hostilities, and to wait the arrival of the Commissioners nominated by Rome for terminating their differences. Neither he nor Diæus, who had succeeded him, had any regard to this request. Both of them entered Laconia in arms, and ravaged it.

When

When the Commissioners arrived, the assembly was summoned to Corinth (Aurelius Orestes was at the head of the Commission). The Senate had given them orders to weaken the body of the league; and for that purpose to separate as many cities as they could from it. Orestes notified the decree of the Senate to the assembly, which excluded from the league Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclæa near Mount Oeta, and Orchomenus of Arcadia, under pretext, that those cities had not at first formed part of the body of the Achæians. When the Deputies, who composed the assembly, had given an account of this decree to the multitude, they were seized with fury, fell upon all the Lacedæmonians at Corinth, and massacred them, tore those out of the houses of the Commissioners who had taken refuge in them, and would have treated themselves with the greatest insult, if they had not escaped their violence by flight.

Orestes and his Collegues, on their return to Rome, related all that had happened to them. The Senate was highly incensed, and immediately dispatched Julius with some other Commissioners into Achæia: but they were instructed to complain moderately, and only to exhort the Achæians not to give ear to bad counsels, lest they should incur the resentment of the Romans by imprudence; a misfortune which they might avoid by punishing those themselves, who had exposed them to it. Carthage was not yet taken, and there was reasons of interest for acting with reserve in respect to allies so powerful as the Achæians. The Commissioners met a Deputy on their way sent by the seditious to Rome: they brought him back with them to Ægium, whither the Assembly of the nation had been called. They spoke in it with great moderation and mildness. In their discourse they did not complain of the ill treatment of the Commissioners, or excused it better than the Achæians themselves could have done. Neither did they mention the cities that were to be excluded from the league. They confined

A. R. 605. themselves to exhorting the council not to aggravate
 Ant. C. 147. their first fault, not to irritate the Romans more, and
 to leave Sparta in peace. Such moderate remon-
 strances were extremely agreeable to all the persons of
 sense present. But Diæus, Critolaus, and those of
 their faction, all chosen in their several cities out of
 the vilest, most impious and pernicious people, blew
 up the flames of discord, by insinuating that the
 lenity of the Romans proceeded only from the bad
 condition of their affairs in Africa, where they had
 been worsted upon many occasions, and from the
 fear they were in that the Achaian League would de-
 clare against them.

In the mean time the Commissioners were treated
 with sufficient respect. They were told, that The-
 aridas should be sent to Rome, and they were desired
 to repair to Tegea, to treat there with the Lacedæ-
 monians, and incline them to peace. Accordingly
 they repaired thither, and prevailed upon the Lacedæ-
 monians to enter into an accommodation with the
 Achæians, and to suspend all hostilities, till new Com-
 missioners should arrive from Rome to put an end to
 their differences. But on the side of the Achæians,
 only Critolaus went to the congress, and he did not
 arrive there till very late, and when he was almost no
 longer expected. A conference was held with the
 Lacedæmonians; but Critolaus would abate nothing
 of his pretensions. He said, that he was not allowed
 to decide any thing without the consent of the nation,
 and would report the affair in the general diet, which
 could not be called in less than six months. This bad
 stratagem, or rather breach of faith, highly offended
 Julius. After having dismissed the Lacedæmonians,
 he set out for Rome, where he described Critolaus as
 a man extravagant and out of his senses.

The Commissioners had no sooner quitted Pelopon-
 nesus, than Critolaus ran from city to city during the
 whole winter, and called assemblies under pretext of
 making known what had been said to the Lacedæmo-
 nians in the conferences held at Tegea, but at bottom

to exclaim against the Romans, and to give an odious turn to their whole conduct, in order to inspire others with the same hatred and aversion, which he had for them himself; and he succeeded but too well. He also prohibited the judges to prosecute or imprison any Achaian for debt, till the conclusion of the affair between the Assembly and Lacedæmon. He thereby carried every thing he pleased, and disposed the multitude to receive all orders he thought fit to give. Incapable of making reflections upon the future, they suffered themselves to be caught by the attraction of the first advantage he proposed.

Metellus having received advice in Macedonia of the troubles in Peloponnesus, dispatched four Romans thither of distinguished birth, who arrived at Corinth at the time the council was assembled there. They spoke in it with abundance of moderation, exhorting the Achæians not to incur the anger of the Romans by a rash and imprudent levity. They were treated with derision, and ignominiously driven out of the assembly. An innumerable throng of workmen and artificers gathered round them to insult them. All the cities of Achæia were at that time in a delirium; but Corinth more than the rest, which had abandoned itself to a kind of madness. They had been persuaded, that Rome intended to enslave them all, and absolutely to destroy the Achæian League.

Critolaus seeing with great satisfaction that every thing succeeded to his wish, harangued the multitude, exasperated them against such of the magistrates as did not enter into his views, exclaimed against the Ambassadors themselves, animated every body against Rome, and intimated that it was not without taking good measures that he had ventured to make head against the Romans; that he had Kings in his party, and that some Republicks were also ready to join it. By these seditious discourses he succeeded in causing war to be declared against the Lacedæmonians, and

A. R. 605.
Ant. C.
147. indirectly against the Romans. The Ambassadors then separated. One of them repaired to Lacedæmon to observe from thence the conduct of the enemy. Another set out for Naupactus; and two remained at Athens, till Metellus should arrive there.

The magistrate of the Bœotians, called Pytheas, who was as rash and violent as Critolaus, came into his views, and engaged the Bœotians to join their arms with those of the Achæians; they were discontented upon account of a judgment Rome had passed against them. The city of Chalcis suffered itself also to be brought over to their party. The Achæians, with such weak aids, believed themselves in a condition to sustain the whole weight of the Roman power, so much were they blinded by their fury.

A. R. 606.
Ant. C.
146. The Romans had chosen Mummius for one of the Consuls, and had charged him with the war of Achæia. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, sent new Ambassadors to the Achæians, and promised them, that the Roman People should forget all the past, and pardon them their faults, if they would return to their duty, and consent, that certain cities, which had been named before, should be dismembered from the league. This proposal was rejected with haughtiness. Metellus then made his troops move against the Achæians. He came up with them near Scarphia, a city of Locris, and gained a considerable victory over them, in which he took above a thousand prisoners. Critolaus disappeared in the battle, without its being known what became of him afterwards. It was believed that he fell into some morasses in flying, and was drowned. Diaus succeeded him in the command, gave liberty to the slaves, and armed all the men capable of service amongst the Achæians and Arcadians. This body of troops amounted to forty thousand foot, and six hundred horse. He further ordered every city to raise troops. The exhausted cities were in the utmost affliction. Many private persons, in despair killed them-

themselves: others abandoned an unhappy country, where they saw nothing for themselves but assured destruction. Notwithstanding the extremity of these calamities, they did not think of taking the only resolution that could deliver them from them. They detested the temerity of their leaders, and however followed them.

Metellus after the battle, of which we have spoke, met a thousand Arcadians in Bœotia near Chæronea, who were endeavouring to return into their own country: they were all put to the sword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almost entirely abandoned. Moved with the sad condition of that city, he ordered, that the temples and houses should not be touched, and that none of the inhabitants either in the city or country should be killed or made prisoners. He excepted Pytheas from that number, the author of all these misfortunes, who was brought to him, and put to death.

From Thebes, after having taken Megara, from which the garrison had retired on his approach, he made his troops march towards Corinth, where Diæus had shut himself up. He sent thither three of the principal persons of the league, who had taken refuge with him, to exhort the Achæians to recover their senses, and accept the conditions of peace, which were offered them. Metellus passionately desired to terminate the affair before the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants on their side ardently wished to see an end of their calamities: but they were not their own masters, and the faction of Diæus disposed all things. The Deputies were imprisoned, and would have been put to death, if Diæus had not seen the multitude extremely exasperated by the punishment he had inflicted upon Socrates, for having talked of surrendering to the Romans. The prisoners in consequence were dismissed.

Things were in this state when Mummius arrived. He had hastened his march through fear of finding

A.R. 606. every thing ended before his arrival, and left another
 Ant. C. should have the glory of terminating this war. Me-
 146. tellus left the command to him, and returned into Macedonia. When Mummius had assembled all his troops, he approached the city, and incamped. An advanced guard behaving negligently in their post, the besieged made a sally, attacked it vigorously, killed many of them, and pursued the rest almost to their camp.

This slight advantage flushed the Achæians, and in effect proved fatal to them. Diæus offered the Consul battle. The latter, to increase his temerity, kept his troops in the camp, as if with-held by fear. The joy and audacity of the Achæians augmented to a degree not to be expressed. They advanced boldly with all their troops, having placed their wives and children upon the neighbouring eminences to be witnesses of the battle, and caused a great number of carriages to follow them to carry the spoils they should take from the enemy, so much did they assure themselves of victory.

Never was confidence more rash nor more ill-founded. The faction had removed all persons capable of commanding the troops, and of administering publick affairs from the service and councils, and had substituted others to them without talents and ability, in order to ingross the government to themselves, and to lord it without resistance. The Generals, without knowledge of the art-military, courage, or experience, had no other merit but a blind and frantic animosity. It was excess of folly to hazard a battle without necessity, that was to decide their fate, instead of resolving long and bravely to defend themselves in a place so strong as Corinth, and to obtain good conditions by a vigorous resistance. The battle was fought near Leucopetra, at the very entrance of the Isthmus. The Consul had placed part of his cavalry in an ambuscade, from which it issued very opportunely for attacking that of the Achæians in flank, which,

This place
 is not
 known.

which, surprized by a sudden charge, gave way in a moment. The infantry made a little more resistance: but as it was no longer either covered or sustained by the cavalry, it was soon broke and put to flight. If Diæus had retired into the place, he might have held out for some time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius, who sought only to terminate this war. But abandoned to despair he rode full speed to Megalopolis his country, and having entered his house, he set fire to it, killed his wife, that she might not fall into the hands of the enemy, swallowed poison, and in this manner himself put an end worthy the many crimes he had committed to his life.

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Ant. C.
146.

After the defeat, the inhabitants had no hopes of defending themselves. As they had neither council, leaders, courage, nor concert, no body thought of rallying the remains of the troops for making some farther resistance, and to oblige the victor to grant them some supportable condition. In consequence all the Achæians who had retired to Corinth, and most of the citizens, quitted it the following night, and escaped where they could. The Consul having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered. All the men who remained in it were put to the sword: the women and children were sold: after having removed the statues, paintings, and most valuable effects, fire was set to all the houses, and the whole city was but one general conflagration that continued several days. It is pretended, but without foundation, that the gold, silver, and copper, melted together in this fire, formed a new and precious metal. The walls were afterwards demolished to the foundation. All this was executed by order of the Senate, to punish the insolence of the Corinthians, who had violated the laws of nations by insulting the Ambassadors sent to them by Rome.

Thus perished Corinth, the same year Carthage was taken and destroyed by the Romans. It does not appear, either that they thought of raising new troops for the defence of the country, or called any assembly

to

A. R. 606. to deliberate upon the measures necessary to be taken ;
 Ant. C. that any body took upon them to propose a remedy
 146. for the publick calamities, or lastly sought to appease
 the Romans by sending Deputies to implore their clemency. To see this inaction, one might have said, that the whole Achaian League had been buried under the ruins of Corinth ; so much had the dreadful destruction of that city alarmed and discouraged the people in general.

The cities, which joined the Achæians in their revolt, were also punished, by demolishing their walls and taking away their arms. The ten Commissioners, sent by the Senate to regulate the affairs of Greece in conjunction with the Consul, abolished the popular government in all the cities, and established Magistrates, chosen out of the richest citizens in them. For the rest they left them their laws and liberty. They also abolished all the general assemblies held by the Achæians, Bœotians, Phocæans, and other States : but they were re-established soon after. From thenceforth Greece was reduced into a Roman province, under the name of the province of Achæia ; because at the time Corinth was taken, the Achæians were the most powerful people of Greece : the Roman People sent a Prætor thither every year to govern it.

Rome in destroying Corinth, thought it necessary to set that example of severity, to intimidate the States of Greece, whom her too great clemency rendered bold, and rash, through the hope they had of obtaining pardon for their faults from the Roman People. Besides which * the advantageous situation of that city, where revolted people might post themselves, and make it a place of arms against the Romans, determined them to demolish it entirely. Cicero, who does not condemn the treating of Carthage and Nu-

* *Majores nostri*.—Carthaginem & Numantiam funditus sustulerunt. Nolle Corinthum. Sed credo illos secutos opportunitatem loci maximè, ne possêt aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortari. Cic. de Offic. lib. i. n. 35.

mantia in this manner, could have wished, that Corinth had been spared. A. R. 606
Ant. C.
146.

The plunder taken in Corinth was sold for very considerable sums of money. Amongst the paintings there was one done by a great * master, which represented Bacchus, the beauty of which was not known to the Romans: they were ignorant at that time of all that relates to paintings and sculptures. Polybius, who was then in the country, as I shall soon say, had the grief to see that painting used by the soldiers for a table to play at dice upon. It was sold to Attalus, at the sale made of the plunder, for six hundred thousand sesterces, that is about three thousand five hundred pounds. Pliny speaks of another painting, for which the same Attalus gave an hundred talents, about twelve thousand five hundred pounds. That Prince was so immensely rich, that his riches became a proverb: *Attalicis conditionibus*. These sums however seem improbable. However it were, the Consul surprized, that the picture of which we are speaking had so much money bade for it, interposed his authority, and kept it contrary to the publick faith; and notwithstanding the complaints of Attalus; because he believed there was some hidden virtue in this piece that he did not know. Strab. 1. 3.
P. 381.
Plin. 1. 7.
c. 38. &
1. 35. c.
4. & 10.

It † was not from the motive of private interest, that he acted in this manner, nor from the design of appropriating it to himself, as he sent it to Rome, to be an ornament of the city: Whereby, says Cicero, he adorned his own house much more, than if he had placed this painting in it. The taking of the

* This was Aristides. The painting, here spoken of, was so much esteemed, that it was commonly said: "All pictures are nothing in comparison with the Bacchus."

† Numquid L. Mummius copiosior, cū copiosissimam urbem funditus sustulisset? Italiam ornare, quā domum suam, maluit. Quāquam, Italiā ornatā, domus ipsē mihi videtur ornatior—Lans abstinentiæ, non hominis est solūm, sed etiam temporum—Habere quæstui remp. non modò turpe est; sed sceleratum etiam & nefarium. Crc. de Offic. lib. ii. n. 76, 77.

greatest

A. R. 606.
Ant. C.
146.

greatest city in Greece did not enrich him one farthing. This noble disinterestedness was even in those days not uncommon at Rome, and seemed less the virtue of individuals, than of the age itself. To make command the means of enriching one's self, was not only disgrace and infamy, but a criminal prevarication. The painting, of which I am speaking, was placed in the temple of Ceres, where the people of taste went out of curiosity to see it as a masterpiece of art, and it remained there till it was destroyed with the temple by fire.

Mummius was a great foldier, and a man of singular worth, but without literature, knowledge of arts, or taste for works of painting and sculpture, the merit of which he did not understand; not believing that there was any difference between picture and picture, statue and statue; nor that the names of the great masters of the art gave them their value. This he evidenced upon this occasion. * He had appointed persons to get many paintings and statues of the most excellent masters carried to Rome. Never had loss been less reparable than that of such a deposit, composed of the master-pieces of those rare artists, who contributed as much as the great Captains to render their age glorious to posterity. Mummius, however, in recommending the care of this precious collection to those he intrusted with them, threatened them very seriously, if the statues, paintings, and things, with which he charged them, should happen to be lost or spoiled upon the way, that he would make them find others at their own expence and charges.

* Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corintho, cùm maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, si eas perdidissent, novas eos reddituros. Non tamen puto dubites. Vinici, quin magis pro republica fuerit, manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum, quàm in tantum ea intelligi; & quin hac prudentiâ illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior. VELL. PATERCUL. l. 1. n. 13.

Were

Were it not to be desired, says an historian from whom we have this fact, that this happy ignorance still subsisted, and would not such a grossness be infinitely preferable, with respect to publick good, to that extreme refinement to which the present age has carried its taste for rarities of this kind? He speaks at a time, when this taste for the fine works of art induced the magistrates to commit all kinds of rapine, and even thefts, in the provinces.

I have said, that Polybius, at his return into Peloponnesus, had the grief to see the destruction and burning of Corinth, and his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. If any thing was capable of consoling him in so melancholy a conjuncture, it was the occasion which he had of defending the memory of Philopæmen, his master in the art of war.

A Roman having conceived a design to cause the statues erected to that Hero to be demolished, had the boldness to bring a criminal process against him, as if he was still alive, and to accuse him before Mummius of having been an enemy of the Romans, and of having always opposed their designs to the utmost of his power. This accusation was extravagant; but it had some colour, and was not entirely without foundation. Polybius warmly took upon him his defence. He represented Philopæmen as the greatest Captain Greece had produced in the latter times, who might sometimes have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far; but who, on many occasions, had rendered considerable services to the Roman People, as in the wars against Antiochus and the Ætolians. The Commissioners, before whom he pleaded so noble a cause, moved by his reasons, and still more by his gratitude for his master, decreed, that the statues of Philopæmen, in whatsoever city they were, should not be touched. Polybius, taking advantage of the good disposition of Mummius, demanded also the statues of Aratus and Achæus,

which

A. R. 606.
Ant. C.
146.

Polyb.
apud
Valef. p.
190—192.

A. R. 606. which were granted him, though they had already been
 Ant. C. carried out of Peloponnesus into Acarnania. The
 146. Achæians were so charmed with the zeal that Polybius
 had shewn upon this occasion for the honour of the
 great men of his country, that they erected a marble
 statue to himself.

At the same time he gave a proof of his disinterest-
 edness, which did him as much honour amongst his
 citizens, as his defence of Philopæmen's memory.
 After the destruction of Corinth, they proceeded to
 punish the authors of the insult committed upon the
 Roman Ambassadors, and their estates were sold by
 auction. When they came to those of Diæus, who
 had had most share in it, the ten Commissioners or-
 dered the Quæstor, who had the selling of them, to
 let Polybius take what he thought fit of those effects,
 without demanding or receiving any thing for them.
 He refused that offer, however advantageous it ap-
 peared, and should have believed himself in some sense
 an accomplice in that wretch's crimes, if he had ac-
 cepted any part of his fortune: besides which he
 should have considered it as infamous to enrich him-
 self with the spoils of his fellow-citizens. He not
 only would accept nothing: he also exhorted his
 friends not to desire any thing that belonged to Diæus;
 and all those who followed his example were highly
 applauded.

Polyb. a-
 pud Valef.
 190—192.

This whole conduct of Polybius made the Com-
 missioners conceive so great an esteem for him, that
 on quitting Greece, they desired him to make the tour
 of all the cities lately conquered, and to accommodate
 their differences, till they should be accustomed to the
 changes that had been made, and the new laws given
 them. Polybius acquitted himself of so honourable a
 commission with so much goodness, justice and pru-
 dence, that every thing was made easy, every thing
 resumed a perfect tranquillity, whether in respect to
 the government in general, or private divisions. In
 acknowledgment for such signal services, statues
 were

were erected to him in different places, amongst which the base of one had this inscription : “ That Greece
 “ would have committed no faults, if from the first
 “ it had been guided by the counsels of Polybius ;
 “ but that after its faults he alone had been its deliverer.”

A. R. 606.
 Ant. C.
 146.

Polybius, after having thus established order and tranquillity in his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he followed him to Numantia, as he had accompanied him before to Carthage.

Metellus, on his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia, and he assumed the surname of Macedonicus. The impostor Andriscus was led before his chariot. Amongst the spoils appeared what was called “ the
 “ squadron of Alexander.” That Prince, at the battle of the Granicus, lost twenty-five brave horse of the chosen troops, which were called “ the company
 “ of the King’s friends.” He caused each of them to have an equestrian statue made by Lysippus, the most excellent artist in that way, to which he added his own. These statues had been set up at Dium, a city of Macedonia. Metellus caused them to be carried to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

Mummius also obtained the honour of a triumph, and in consequence of his conquest of Achaia assumed the surname of Achaicus. He caused a great number of statues and paintings to be exhibited in his triumph, which were afterwards the ornament of the publick buildings of Rome, and several other cities of Italy ; but not one of them entered the house of the triumpher.





